ANSWER

To certain seditious and

Jesuitical Queres,

Heretofore purposely and maliciously cast out, to retard and hinder the *English* forces in their going over into *Ireland*.

Whereby is fully proved that the *Irish* were the first, and most ancient Proprietors, and Inhabitants of that Land (which was at the first called *Britain the Less*) before the accession of the *Scots* thither, and that the *Scots* came in but by the assistance of the *Irish*. Of what Country the *Irish* the first were, their often rebellions and defections, [illegible] and reducing all of them to obedience, [illegible] before the Conquest of *England*, by *William* the Conqueror, as since; together also with the names of the nine Kings, which the *Irish* have lately elected and made amongst themselves, with many other necessary observables of great concernment, fully manifesting the *English* interest to that Land, and the miserable sufferings of the *English* there, in all ages, by the barbarous and bloody actions of the *Irish*.

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XUM

To the Right Honorable

The Lord PRESIDENT, and COUNCIL of STATE.

Right Honorable!



T's not my abilitie, but the force of the Cauſ, and neceſsitie of this task (others of better parts beeing ſilent) that prompt mee to challenge an intereſt in your honor's patronage of my weak endeavors in aſſerting the Engliſh *intereſt in* Ireland, *againſt a more dangerous then known ſtickler for the* Iriſh, *and their gangren'd Cauſ, diſcovering himſelf in ſom pernicious* Queres, *cunningly diſperſed at ſuch a ſeaſon, wherein they might have a full influence upon the common genius of the Armie, then deſigned for* Ireland: *And finding light ſufficient in my ſelf from ſuch experimental truths, as lodg in my own boſom, to diſcover the* Queriſt's Preſtigies; *I have adventured a little to draw the curtain, and make way for ſom more fit and able, to vindicate the juſt intereſt of* England, *againſt their cauſleſs and implacable enemies, the barbarous* Iriſh *Rebels. This piece beeing onely intended as an incitement thereunto. And ſuch it will ſurely prove, if it finde your honor's favourable aſpect, and the like approbation from thoſe other wiſe ſteers-men, whom the Lord hath placed at the helm of*

this Nation's Government: And for those adherents to the Irish, *whose mindes are fore-stalled, and carried away with the stream of their false asseverations, and lose the reputation of their modestie in the* Irish *impudencie,* (*although I wish they may bee in their Judgments rectified, and manners reformed,*) *yet I value not their carpings nor vain exceptions;* Quia Momus nunquàm gnarus est. *I onely beg your honor's acceptance of these lines from my poor hand, so as my joies may bee continued in the memorie of your good Acts; my affection owe's a dutie to the performance of this work, which will at last toll in better Ringers, prostrateing my endeavors at the feet of your honors, as those of a sublime understanding.*

I am

Your Honor's most humble

and engaged Servant

THO. WARING.

To

TO HIS EXCELLENCIE
Oliver Cromwel,
Lord GENERAL of the Armies of *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland.*

And also to the Right Honorable *HENRIE IRETON,* Lord Deputie of IRELAND.

THe presen seed of the ancient *Scythians,* and other barbarous Easterlings (the now *Irish,* assisted with som collapsed and degenerate *English* Papists, striking at the verie root of the tree of *Protestanism,* do not content themselvs with their barbarous torturing, and murdering of vast numbers of our Religion, and blood, everie daies fierie malice (as I may saie) producing a new waie of the most exsecrable and amarulent tortures of those most innocent people in coolness of blood, wherein they glutted themselvs. But of late, finding the sword of God drawn out, and prosecuted by your Excellencie, and seeing the noble *English* spirits impatient, until God by his and their swords should avenge their brethren's bloods by the destruction of that inhumane generation; Som of them, as far as possible, to take off the resolute intentions of the Protestant souldierie from retaliating upon the *Irish* such destruction, as they had

generally vowed to exercise upon us all, have cast out certain cavelling and seditious *Queres*, whereby they would amaze and blinde som inadvertent men, excuse or at least extenuate their own high offences, make the *English* interest to *Ireland* seem dubious, and themselvs to bee the ancient proprietors of that Land, thereby also, with a sublime disdain, inveighing against Conquerors and Conquests, (the greatest persons and most common interests of all the whole world) which is a boldness without paralel.

Now, others of better talent, and more versed in the antiquities of *Ireland*, sparing their pens, I have taken up the boldness (out of small abilitie) to contrive the following Answers to those *Queres*, by which, if anie (formerly seduced by the vain pretences of the *Irish*) bee untwined from them, and brought within the sight of the truth, I have my desires. And as your excellencie's valor against these Monsters of men, hath by God's assistance quelled their furies, and your wisdom infatuated their Counsels: so I doubt not, but the eie of your Judgment hath discerned their bloudie and subtil intentions, in part declared by their actions: I am yet a stranger to your Excellencies persons, but not to your heroick, noble and pious deeds: My lines (though not satisfactorie) I beseech you yet take in such worth, as when perused, you will vouchsafe to call upon more able pens to perform that dutie wherein (unwillingly) I am yet deficient; the great God of truth so order all your Councils, and Actions, that they maybee crowned with a glorious and your most desired succes, so praye's

Your Excellencie's most humble Servant
THO. WARING.

THE PREFACE.



Here hath bin lately publiſhed a certain ſeditious Pamphlet, intituled Queres, *propounded to the conſideration of ſuch as were intended for the ſervice of* Ireland, *which as it ſeem's was brought in by one* Gawre (*of an Iriſh name*) *and one, who as (I have been informed ſince) is a Profeſs of that Countrie: This man in formalitie, ſmoothly pretendeth to righteouſnes, but in realitie (diſcernable to the dulleſt apprehenſion) hatcheth and harboureth horrible, helliſh and moſt bloudie thoughts; and inflamed with a fierie malice, thirſteth after the deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion, the exſtirpation of all the Religious Engliſh in that Land, both root and branch, together with their intereſt there, and would by his ſubtil and numerous queſtions, diſhearten the conſcientious noble Engliſh Spirits, from ingaging that way either in perſon or expence, to reduce that Iſland from meer barbariſm and Idolatrie, to the true worſhip of God, and obedience to the Lawe, eſtabliſhed by the antient proprietors of that Nation (the Engliſh) and both antiently and*

and lately ſubmitted unto by all Inhabitants of the ſame.

But if you mark this Queriſt, hee perſueth the ſophiſtrie and ſubtiltie, antiently practiſed by the Jeſuits, & ſo far as hee would have all his Queſtions believed and grounded upon undoubted truths, and to bee admitted as verities: And although theſe Queres (being ſo uncertainely and falſly grounded) are worthie of no anſwer at all, having all along the plain marks of inſoliditie and ſedition upon them: yet to ſatisfie the doubts of ſuch judicious and upright men, as onely deſire to know the truth, and com not with a minde pre-occupate, and ſuborned by injurious principles.

I ſhall indeavor to lay open the Queriſt's errors and deliriements, reſolve the Queres *hee makes, and diſcover the truth in the things hee moſt harp's upon, for his advantage, and becauſ I conceiv the Jeſuit's firſt* Quere *(though not in plain words) yet implicitely, by inſinuation, intend's principally* Ireland and the pretended intereſt of the Iriſh *(as hee in ſom of them after expreſſeth) And although alſo my ſhort and weak wings are favr deficient to ſoar ſo high a pitch, as to cite all, or neer the ſum of all authentick Authors and Records, manifeſting the proprietie, right, and intereſt of the Land of* Ireland, *to be originally in the Britiſh, yet becauſ thoſe of the Nation of* England *(already led away with the aërie, and vain pretenſes of the Iriſh, and who never yet ſcrutinized the Engliſh intereſt) may bee undeceived, made ſenſible of their former errors, poſſeſſed with the Engliſh right, bee acquainted with the iterated rebellions of the Iriſh in manie ages, the often reducing, and bringing them to ſubjection, by the Britiſh or Engliſh, and with other things by theſe* Queres *made diſputable, I ſhall freely contribute my Talent to this ſo neceſſarie work, and firſt ſet down the* Queres *in order, and then anſwer them ſeverally.*

An

AN ANSWER TO THE Irish Queres.

The first Quere.

WHether the Land or inheritance that a Nation hath for ſom hundreds or thouſands of yeers enjoyed, and poſſeſſed without any others laying claim to have a more ſpecial right to the ſame, bee not their ſpecial right which God and nature hath given them?

The first Anſwer.

IN this firſt Quere, the Queriſt deſire's to have it inferred, and alſo granted, that the Iriſh Inhabitants, as they now ſtand in oppoſition to *England*, are an entire Nation, and that they were

the first and sole Proprietors of *Ireland*, as given unto them by God and nature, whereas in truth they are a people compossed partly of the old *Britains*, the first Inhabitants thereof, partly of *Scythians* and *Gothes*, first thither out of *Biscay* in *Spain*, partly of *Danes* and other Easterlings, sent in by the Kings of *Britain*, and others intruding themselvs, and principallly of English sent thither by the Kings of *England* in several ages, as in the ensuing discourse shall appear, so as the fraud and fallacie of this first Quere being clearly laid open, strike's farr to the answering of all the rest.

And first to say somthing of the soil and Iland, now called *Ireland*, which by several ancient writers hath been rendred by several other names, signifying (for the most part) that it is a Western part of *Britain*, which the very name now given unto it by the Irish, *viz. Eirin*, signifying a western Countrie, doth much demonstrate, and besides, at this day a part of *Mounster* in *Ireland* is called *Hiermoun*, in English, *West-Mounster*, which shew the name *Eirin* to bee derived from *Hiet*, which is west, as appear's plainly by Mr *Cambden* (a faithful relater of the best antiquities extant:) the ancient Geographer writeth in these words, of Islands for greatness, the *Indian Taprobane* is prime and principal, next after it, *Britain*, and in third degree, another *British* Iland called *Hibernia*, (that is *Ireland*) whereupon *Ptolomie* in his writings of Geographie, call's it in plain words *Britannia parva*, the old Geographers called it the *Britains* Island; *Strabo* called the Inhabitants *Britains*. *Diodorus Siculus* termed *Irin* a part of Britain, and *Aristotle* in his book *de mundo*, Cap. 3. hath these words as they stand translated, *viz. Ibi sunt Insulæ, quæ quantitate maximæ habentur, numero verò duæ sunt, Britannica dicuntur, Albion & Hibernia.* By all which it fall's cleer that by the most ancient and authentick writers, the Island of *Ireland* was ever taken and accounted a British Island, only belonging to great Britain, neither is it found in any approved Writer or Record, that ever any King or Potentate claimed right or Interest in the soil or Land of that Island, save only the Kings of great Britain, in right of their Kingdom, now called *England*, which in several ages they have not failed to doe, by reducing and subduing the unjust rebellion, and usurpation

of

of those unrulie Inhabitants, and if you look into Monuments or Records of later time, you shall never finde it called a Kingdom or a Realm, till in the reign of *Henrie* the 8. when by Act of Parlament it was made and styled a Kingdom, and that King declared, and confessed King thereof, unanimously agreed by all the Inhabitants of that Island. But that by all Acts of Parlament in that Land, and other Records, it was alwaies till then, for 400 yeers or thereabouts called the King's land *of Ireland*, and by several Acts of Parlament, *viz.* one Act in the twentie eighth yeer of that King, *Henry* the 8 reign Cap. 2. That Land is declared to be appending and belonging to *England*; And by another Act there made in that King's reign, the said Island is declared to be a Member, appending and rightfully belonging to *England*, and united to the same; and in severall other Acts there the same in substance is asserted, and ordained, and all this agreed and assented unto by the very Ancestors of those now in Arms there against *England*, and the Governors thereof; and yet by this Queriſt it is esteemed to bee an Original, entire Nation, distinct from any Conqueror, yea such, as hee scruple's to have them call'd Rebels.

Thus having given you the opinion and report of the ancient and som modern proofs of the denomination, and full relation of that Island to Great *Britain*, it will bee requisite, that by the like ancient and modern evidence the just right and propriety of the English to that Land, and to the dominion thereof, and to the naturall subjection of all the Inhabitants thereof to *England*, bee also manifested and avowed, the better to let the world see the Queriſt's fraud, and subtilie in this general vast Quere, and indeed throughout all the rest of his abusive Queres and insinuations.

Mr *Camden*, that faithfull searcher into Antiquities, affirmeth that most of the best approved and knowing Writers out of Antiquities, do determin that the first known Inhabitants of *Ireland*, were *Britains* sent thither, by the Kings of Great *Britain*, of which opinion he concludes himself to bee, but that they could not send sufficient Inhabitants, to replenish such a Continent, and that by a great mortalitie happening among them, they were much diminished; and you may perceiv by a Statute

made in *Ireland*, in the 11. yeer of Queen *Elizabeth*, that *Gormond* (by som Writers called *Gorgund*) Son to *Belin* King of Great *Britain*, was Lord of *Biscaie* in *Spain*, (as his posteritie long after him continued) and having occasion to com into *Britain*, his Father being dead he voyaged into *Denmak*, and in his rerurn a great multitude of his Subjects of *Biscaie* met him at Sea, (being streightned for relief in their Countrie) and humbly besought him to assign them som place for habitation, whereunto (by advice of his Council, he assented, and directed them to his Island, now called *Ireland*, which wanted people, and sent with them guides, to bring them thither, where finding a fertile soil, they encreased abundantly, bringing their language with them, and being then the greater number of people, after the new access, involved the *British*-tongue into theirs, (yet in som sort mixed) as may appear by many new words and names of things, well understood by the *Welsh*. It being of dailie experience, that the *Welsh* do much more soon and easilie learn *Irish* then the *English* can do, and that much of the *Irish* is understood by them.

Giraldus Cambrensis called these *Biscayners*, *Besclenses*, and *Camden* write's very largely of their Ancestors coming into *Spain*, at the confluence of the Northern Nations into those parts, alleging that part of them were *Scythians*, and part *Gothes*, and to add to the truth of this relation, their so coming thither is specified in many of the rude, (yet ancient) *Irish* annals, both in Irish and Latine.

The *British* Histories, and som of the English Chronicles do make mention of *Hiberus* and *Hermion*, then Captains of those *Besclenses*, and their *Bards* (who to this daie keep, and at all feasts and publique meetings, do chaunt and publish the Pedidigrees and Acts of the *Irish*) do derive the most ancient *Irish* from those, that came out of *Spain*, rather chooSing to glorifie themselvs in them, then from the *Britains*, from whom so manie of them are descended, and from whom they had permission to dwell there: For, doubtless, there are manie evident demonstrations, that much of the East part of that Island, continued still inhabited by *Britains*, and that those *Besclenses*, most inhabited the more Western parts of *Mounster*, and *Connaght*, where

their

their former neighbors and friends might most easily com to them, yet dispersed as they sound east; those in the Western parts speaking more broad, do hardly understand much of the language of the other: And to shew further, that the Britains had a good share in the Original ancestrie of the ancient *Irish*, the verie Officers which the *Irish* have from age to age used for their pedigrees, and Annals are to this daie called Bards, which were the same in office and denomination, imploied by the ancient Britains; And for their manner of holding Land, it was till the first year of King *James*, by *Gavelkind*, as the ancient Britains held theirs, though so corrupted in *Ireland*, as when the Laws came to bee setled in the begining of King *James* his time, it was adjudged a barbarous and unreasonable custom, and so abolished; Also their *Irish* Custom of *Tainestrie*, which they called their Law, is derived from British, for, amongst them the word *Tans*, or *Thane* signified an Elder, Governor, or Lord of a territorie; And the same word amongst the *Irish* had the same sence, and therefore the second person to the Lord of the Countrie, who was to succeed (if a stronger force interpos'd not) was called the *Tanaist*, setled upon him, as *Seniori & digniori*, and hee had Lands and Impositions on the Countrie assigned to him in right of that Office; The Lord also of the Countrie beeing put into Office by the same Law (where force did not overbear it) all which, is now also abolished as unlawful. It appear's also by antiquitie, that the *Irish* agreed with the Britains in the custom of observing the time of *Easter*, both then, therein differing from the Church of *Rome*.

The first known Inhabitants beeing thus sent into, and setled in *Ireland* by the Britains, they so continued in subjection to the King of great Britain for several ages, the contrarie whereof hath appeared in no memorie; And to enter into further Inquisition thereinto is not much material, no other King, Prince or Potentate, having at anie time made claim unto them, until the Romans entered Britain, and held the same by conquest, after manie and often conflicts; In all which time, during their strugling against, and subjection to the Romans, the British could not have that care

and over-sight of them, as formerly they had, so as in that time they took head, and set up amongst them, in a barbarous wale, Rulers and petrie Kings; which Rulers and Kings *Giraldus Cambrensis* calleth Tributaries, and what kinde of Kings those then were, and afterwards continued to bee, till King *Henrie* the second's entrie into *Ireland*, may much appear in an ancient Manuscript, called the Book of Christ-Church in *Dublin*, (then a priorie) lately a Cathedral Church; In which Manuscript are these words concerning them, *viz. Isti Reges non fuerunt ordinati solemnitate alicujus ordinis nec unctionis Sacramento, nec jure hereditario, vel aliquâ proprietatis successione, sed vi & armis quilibet regnum suum obtinuit:* In all which time of the Roman's power in great Britain, neither the ancient Britains in *Ireland*, nor those permitted new-com *Besclenses*, could extinguish or alter the original right, which the Kings of great Britain undeniably had to their dominion there, or to those Inhabitant's subjection.

It appeareth in M^r *Camden's* and other Chronicles, and Histories, that during the Roman's power in great Britain, the Norweyans and other Easterlings, by wale of piracie, and incursion infested those Inhabitants of *Ireland*; and though often beaten off, yet manie got footing there, the Monuments of whom remain to this daie; and in after times when the *Saxons* warred in Britain, they several times came over again, and so setled on manie of the Sea-coasts, as they built of the walled Sea-Towns, excluding from amongst them the *Irish*, not admitting them entrance, other then with great caution for Merchandise onely; And whereas the *Querist* would have it believed, that the *Irish*, as an entire Nation, were originally Impropriated in *Ireland* by God and nature, for manie hundreds, and some thousands of years, without anie others laying claim to have special right to the same, which (hee seems to insinuate) did so continue to these times; It doth and will appear alwel by what is formerly here remembred, as what shall follow in this ensuing tract, that it is a ridiculous and illusive surmise; for it must not bee forgotten (especially appearing by good Historie, that soon after the Roman's departure out of great Britain, the noble Prince *Arthur* obteined that Land,

who

who being a man of great action, aswel at home as abroad, passed into *Ireland*, and reduced those Inhabitants to their ancient Subjection; In proof whereof, having som years after occasion for a time to keep his Court at *Carlion*, in great Britain, hee summoned the Governors, and pettie Kings of *Ireland* (of whom one, *viz.* M^r *Gellomurroe*, or Mr *Gillemurry* is by name recorded, to appear before him at *Carlion* aforesaid) there to do their homage to him; who thereupon came and performed the same accordingly, which was don in the year after our Saviour's nativitie, 579; and this prove's a claim at least, made by the Kings of great Britain to the Island of *Ireland*, as part of their dominions; Afterwards, as is known to all men of anie reading, the *Saxons* and *Angles* out of *Germanie* invaded great Britain, and by manie contests in Arms, and bloudie Battels obteined the Dominion thereof, dividing it into several Kingdoms amongst themselvs, which continued for manie years; In all which times the *Irish* Inhabitants took more Libertie to root themselvs in their barbarous usurpation and tyrannie: for wee cannot finde, that then, before, or since they established anie certain Government, either regal or otherwise, neither are there extant anie authentick memories, of anie certain or passable Laws ordeined by them, for the regulating of anie Christian people; yet soon after, the *Saxon's* Heptarchie was reduced into an Entire Monarchie; It is manifest by good Historie and Record, that *Edgar* King of great Britain (then and now called *England*) not unmindful of that Kingdom's ancient right and interest in *Ireland*, labored, and obteined another reducement, and had the possession of most of that continent, as appear's by the Books of that excellent writer Judg *Cook*, extracted out of Records of the Tower; Afterwards, when the *Danes* obteined the Rule and power in great Britain, they so little forgot the ancient and just challenge to *Ireland*, as that they sent thither good numbers of men who gained large footing in several places of the best parts of the Island, of whom there yet remain manie visible Monuments, as their intrenchments, and Fortifications to this daie, called *Danes* Mounts, or Rather, in *Irish* Lisses, and round slender high Towers, yet called

called *Danes* Steeples, or *Danes* Towers, yea, the best and largest Suburbs about *Dublin* is yet called *Ostmantown*, which term the *Saxons* gave to the *Danes* as Easterlings, and doubtless, it is their then access, and som former incursions made by them as aforesaid, which left manie of them there fixed, who were the ancestors to the now pretended original Nation, as pretended to bee given to them by God and Nature; Afterwards, the Norman *William*, the Conqueror, became possessed of the Dominions of *England*, it is universally known what business hee had, aswel to settle that so gained Land, as to content his Allies, and parties brought with him, and to preserv what hee left behind him in *France*, to which retrospect hee was enforced by manie disturbances and attempts; neither is it unknown, how unwarrantably his three next successors came to the Crown in *England*, and against what counterworkings, and heart-burnings, they held Regencie there, besides their distractions in their affairs, and from their neighbors of *France*, beeing not free from incumbrances of *Scots*, and *Welsh*, whereby all judicious men may conclude, that none of them could safely embrace the restitution of *Ireland*, howsoever it concerned them. But assoon as one lineal descent had setled the Crown of *England* upon King *Henry* the second, who was great Granchilde of the said *William*, the Norman; and who is recorded to bee the most powerful *English* Monarch, both in *England*, and *France*, since the *Normans* coming in; That King applied to the Pope for his consent, to regain his said Land of *Ireland*, who consenting thereunto, to the end it might bee brought into orderly Government, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, Hee yet suspended all action thither for som years, beeing interrupted by his affairs in *France*, and the disobedient combinations of his sons; But after, an occasion hapning by the invocation of one of the *Irish* pettie Kings, hee permitted manie of his Subjects of *England* and *Wales* to pass thither, who by their valor, possessed themselvs of a good part of that Island; Then in the year 1172 did that King with a competent Armie repair thither in person, and resumed into his hands his ancient right of Dominion and interest there, without much bloudshed, and

was

was therein confirmed by the absolute and free submissions of all the pettie Kings, and other Rulers, aswel Ecclesiastical as Temporal, and by all others then of anie value there, which they delivered unto him under their Seals. There did hee also receiv the Homage, Fealtie, Allegiance, and subjection of all those pettie usurping Princes, and others as his Liege Subjects. There did hee hold a great Council, or general Assemblie of all the Prime inhabitants of that Island, at *Lismire*, which they called a Parlament, and gave them the English Laws. *Ubi Leges Angliæ ab omnibus sunt gratanter receptæ & juratoriâ cautione præstitâ, confirmatæ.* There did hee send his Mandats to the Archbishops, Bishops and Clergie of *Ireland*, to assemble in a Synod at *Cashel*, wherein *Christianus* Bishop of *Lismore* was President, in which Synod that King's entrance, actions and atchievments there were declared to bee lawful; and it was there also concluded, that it was most meet, that as *Ireland* by God's appointment had recovered a lawful Lord and King from *England*; so also they should from thence receiv a better form of living; they also then established that all Divine Offices of holy Church, should from thenceforth bee handled in all parts of *Ireland*, according as the Church of *England* did observ them. In that Synod also, they made divers other Canons, concerning the Church-Government there, which Acts were ratified by the Regal Autoritie of the same *Henrie* the second: To the same purposes, another general Synod was soon after held at *Armagh* in *Ulster*, where the same things, and others for right ordering of that Government were resolved and agreed upon: There was also placed *Hugh Lacie* Justice of *Ireland* for the Government of that Land, wherein that Land then seemed to bee formally setled in a peaceable subject condition to *England*, as it ought to bee. Thus may the *Querist*, and all others see that that Land, and supposed original Nation, did not continue manie hundreds or thousands of years, nor was enjoied till these times, without anie others laying claim to have right to the same. It may bee demanded (though standing thus) how might King *Henrie* the second seiz all that Land into his own hands, and grant it to adventurers (as after hee did.) To this the answer is easie. For, in a short

time after, that King and the greatest part of his Army withdrew into *England*; Then did all those petite Kings, Rulers, and men of value, and the other Inhabitants falsly and traiterously join in a Confederacie and action to extirpate, and expulse all the *English* and *Welsh*, then left there, and did cast aside their dutie and obedience to *England*, and the good order and Lawes, so freely and lately entertained by them, breaking all Faith and Allegiance to him, to whom they had formerly sworn it; they murthered as manie as they could take at advantage, and at last besieged *Dublin*, and other Towns, intending to destroie all the *English*; But the valor of those men left there, and the vigilance of that King to relieve them did stoutly beat them off, and frustrated their unchristian intention. Then that King finding them so enhacked in their former rudeness, and barbarisme, as there was no faith or dutie to bee expected from them, and that they could not sit down in anie civil societie, Hee, by advice of his Councill confiscated all their Estates, and adjudged and declared the *Irish* generally to bee enemies and aliens, (in which condition they continued long after) as is manifest by the Records, and Statute-Lawes of those times.) And then hee set his Subjects of *England* and *Wales* at full Libertie, to win what they could in that Land, towards the reducement thereof, to his just Subjection: for better accomplishment whereof, hee made choise of ten special persons of qualitie and power in his other Dominions, to whom, by grant of inheritance, hee divided the Lands of that whole Iland, who drawing together their severall Allies, friends, and other adventurers; they by that King's countenance and assistance so bestirred themselves, as within few years they became Masters, and possessors of the whole Iland, and so continued quietly, possessed for almost one hundred years, without anie offence to *England*, forcing the perfidious *Irish* (who were then few in number, after manie conflicts with them) into Mountains, Bogs, and boggie woods, there to wander up and down, with the remain of their Cattel, not daring to bee seen, or to graze in anie of the more habitable parts, where the *English* had footing; special Statute Lawe prohibiting the same; Lawes also

were

were made, that upon paine of felonie, no Merchant, or, other liege person should trade with the *Irish* in market; or otherwise; It was also made felonie to succor ayde of the *Irish* enemies; from the time of the foresaid division forward, was that Island onely called the King's Land of *Ireland*, till the reign of King *Henrie* the eighth, as appears by Acts of Parliament, and all Records mentioning the same; The division hee made was as followeth, *viz.* To *Richard* Earl of *Pembroke*, of *Strigil*, called *Strongbow*, he regranted the Kingdom, or Territories of *Leinster* (surrendred to him by the said Earl *Richard*, whose it was pretended to bee, in right of his wife, sole daughter and heir of the last nominal, or tributarie King thereof, except *Dublin*, and som lands thereunto lying, part whereof is yet called the King's Land; and being divided into Manors, the Free-holders paie chief rents into the Exchequer to this daie, and except som maritim Towns, Castles, and som lands about them which hee reserved to himself; To *Robert Fitz-Stephens* and *Miles Cogan*, hee granted the Territories called the Kingdom of *Cork*, the Citie of *Cork*, and som lands thereunto lying reserved, as aforesaid excepted (the heir of *Cogan* is yet possessor of som of those lands) To *Philip le Brase*, the Territories called the Kingdom of *Limerick*, with donation of Bishopricks, and Abbeies, except the Citie of *Limerick*, and a Cantred of Land adjoining, reserved as aforesaid; To S^r *Hugh de Lacie* Justice, or (as som write) *Custos* of *Ireland*, the territories called the Kingdom of *Meath*, then of far greater extent, then the name *Meath* now import's; To S^r *John de Courcie* all *Ulster*, which being a large continent, was quietly possessed by him, and his *English* tenements nine yeares; After his death (without heirs) it was granted to *Hugh Lacie*, who held it, till forfeited; then was it granted by King *Edward* the first, to *Walter de Burgo* from whom it descended to *William de Burgo*; And after those Lands and Signories were by *Edward* the fourth adjoined to the *Demesne*, and Crown-Lands of *England*.

To *William Fitz-Adelme de Burgo* all *Connaght*, except a small part for life given to *Roderick*, formerly nominal King thereof, after whose death that Land also was by King *Henrie* the

third, granted to *Richard de Burgo*, heir to *William*, except the *Cantreds* of *Roſcomon*, *Ruadon*, and two or three other *Cantreds* neer *Athlon*; All which were after granted by ſucceeding Kings to other *Engliſh*, onely *Roſcomon* remained in the Crown, till Queen *Elizabeth* granted the ſame to one M^r *Malby*; This whole Countrie came after to the Crown, by the marriage of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, ſon to King *Edward* the third, with the Daughter and heir of *de Burgo*; To S^r *Thomas Clare* of the ſtock of the Earl of *Glocester*, all *Ghomond*, now the Countie of *Clare* which was confirmed to the ſame Familie, by grant from King *Edward* the firſt, to *Robert le Poer*, all the Countie of *Waterford* (except the Citie and cantred about it) the chief of the Familie, of which *Poers* is now a Baron; to *Otho de Grandiſon* all Tipperarie.

Afterwards King *John* having intelligence, that the *Engliſh* began to bee at variance amongſt themſelvs, by reaſon that the Laws were not ſo ſpread, and adminiſtred as they ſhould bee, made a voiage in perſon thither, with a competent force for his honor and ſafetie, and then did hee divide the whole Land into Counties, as they for the moſt part ſtand at this daie, though *Connogh* and *Ulſter* ſince are much ſubdivided, hee carried over with him divers learned men for civil and eccleſiaſtical Notion, hee ordered and eſtabliſhed the Courts of Juſtice, as in *England*, *viz.* the Chancerie, the Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, and other Eccleſiaſtical Judicatures, and ſetled competent Judges in them; hee appointed Juſtices Itinerant, and all other Officers for Law and execution of Juſtice; and four tearms in the year to bee kept as in *England*, by which the people became ſubject to Law (the *Iriſh* beeing ſtill held as enemies and Aliens) were better governed, lived in peace and great proſperitie manie years, ſave what ruptures it endured by their own diſſentions, as hereafter appeareth. So as by what is above ſpecified, it appear's the *Engliſh* were made lawfully inheritable, and became poſſeſſed of the whole continent, whereſoever they could finde places anie wale fit for habitation; And to prove their poſſeſſions as well as their grants, beſides that in all the ancient Records, taking cognizance of all the habitable parts of that Land, in which thoſe *Engliſh* are

are named, youshall finde no Juries upon Inquiries, or trial of anie causes whatsoever, Capital, Criminal, or common; where is mentioned anie *Irish* name, but all *English*: All their Officers and Ministers of Justice beeing the same, and beside several Statute-Laws do assert their universal possession. It is undeniably evident, that generally all the now Freeholders of several great continents in that Island are *English*, either descendents, or deriving from those first adventurers, or by ancient grants from the Crown upon their forfeitures, though the truth is, manie of their laborers, underfarmers and tennants, which they call Churls, are and still were *Irish*, the territories and Countries which those *English*, and sons of late settlement did, and do possess, are, *viz.* in the Countie of *Down*, the Countries of little *Ards*, the *Duffrey*, *Lecale*, *Mourn*, the *Newrie*, and several other places of lesser note; all the Countie of *Lowth*, the whole Countie of *Dublin*, the entire Countie of *Meath*; the best and greatest part of the Countie of *Westmeath*, all the Countie of *Kildare*, the greatest and best part of the Countie of *Catherlagh*, part of the Countie of *Wicklow*, the greatest and best part of the Countie of *Wexford*, all the Countie of *Waterford*, the greatest and best part of the great Countie of *Cork*, the greatest and best part of the Countie of *Limerick*, a great part of the Countie of *Kerrie*, the better half of the Countie of *Tipperary*, all the Countie of *Kilkennie*, all the Countie of *Galwaie*, a good part of the Countie of *Roscomon*, the most part of the Countie of *Maye*, besides the large territories of *Leix* and *Offalie*, in the Queen's Countie, and King's Countie, planted in Queen *Maries*, and the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reigns, upon the Rebellion of the *Mores*, and *Conners*, the surnames of these old *English*, so manie (as of manie hundreds more can here bee remembred) are annexed towards the end of this Answer to the first *Quere*. Of these surnames manie are spread into verie numerous Families, and persons, of which manie are advanced to degrees of Honor, and verie manie possessed of great estates; and further to prove that those *English* were so possessed of all those Lands, King *Henrie* the second, and som other succeeding Kings granted unto manie of those Adven-

turers Countie *Palatines*, and unto manie other verie large Franchiſes and immunities, for the better ordering of the *Colonies*: thoſe Adventurers divided the Lands generally into Maunors, particular Freeholds, and other *Engliſh* holdings; which (for the moſt part) do ſo continue to this daie; they granted all thoſe Lands for eaſie rents and ſervices to their Comilitants, except ſom ſmall parts which they kept in their own hands, who, or others deriving from them, do ſtill hold the ſame, *pro parte conqueſtus*, as generally appear's in their ancient evidences.

Yet further, to prove the *Engliſh* great and general poſſeſſions there; it is an apparent and unqueſtionable truth, that the *Engliſh* and ſtrangers onely did build all the Caſtles, and ſtone-buildings, which then, and for ſom hundreds of years after, were to bee ſeen in anie part of that Iſland, neither had the *Iriſh* anie ſtone buildings of their own erecting, till about the reign of King *Henrie* the eighth, when ſom of them gained eſtates from the Crown, howbeit it is related in Hiſtorie, that the *Engliſh* built Caſtles from Sea to Sea, beeing enjoined thereto by Law, beſide what was don by Kings, great Lords, and other principal adventurers.

It is further true, that all the Cities, Towns, and Corporations throughout that Land, are entirely *Engliſh*, and onely and originally endowed with Charters, Franchiſes and Lands by the *Engliſh*; And howſoever ſom of the Maritim towns were at firſt planted (as is traditioned from the Anciens) by *Oſtmen* or *Eaſterlings*, who fully ſubmitted to the *Engliſh* Law, (not ſuffering anie *Iriſh* to dwell amongſt them) yet thoſe firſt Inhabitants were after either ſo retracted or ſo worne out, as the Inhabitants became wholly *Engliſh*, as they undoubtedly remained till the reign of *Henrie* the eighth, and are for the moſt part hitherto the ſame, where they have not in ſom parts of *Ireland* been ruined, and coerupted by *Iriſh* Rebellions and inſurrections.

It is true likewiſe, that all the bridges and paſſages were built and made onely by the *Engliſh* of old, and of late by the *Engliſh* onelie; And alſo alſo all Monaſteries, Religious Houſes, and Churches of anie good ſtructure were founded, built and endowed

endowed by the English, only some few despicable Cels of *Monks* there were, and some few poor Chappels dispised, specially in some poore Islands thereof.

These being evident demonstrations of the universall possession of the English in that Island, it is further verified by some of their Lawes in that Land wherein mention is made of beautifull Cities and Townes, planted by the English in that Island, but destroyed by Irish Commotions and garboils.

And more particularely by the Statute of *Absentes in tempore Henrie* 8 and other Statutes, wherein are expressions declaring the tranquillitie and good order of the English in that Land, that the English long defended it in due subjection, against the Irish enemies.

It is also much to be observed, that it is not to be seen, before the time of King *Henry* the 8 That the Irish had either Charter, evidence or authentick writings for any Lands or possessions, neither could they have Interest, they being no other till then, but enemies and Aliens, neither had they distinctions or degrees of honor or Gentrie, neither Armes nor other Enfigns or Officers of honours or gentrie, as Duke, Marquess, Earl, Viscount, Baron, Knight of any Order, Esquire, or Gentleman, till the English introduced them, neither had they Governors of any legal or orderlie forme, or Judges or Officers of any certaine Law or judicial course, neither had they Magistrates of anie Cities, Burroughs or other Corporations or Courts of Justice Ecclesiastical or Civil, or seals either of Justice or honour, or other species of civil or certain Reglement.

And to give you these truths, of the ancient and modern right and possession of the *Britains* and *English* in and to *Ireland*, (somewhat further ratified in all the parts of Interest in Jurisdiction, and dependence) It appear's by good antiquities thou long before the entrance of *William*, the *Norman*, into *England*, the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* had primacie over all *Ireland*, and that the Bishops of *Ireland*, according to the ancient usage and customs, (as is written) received their consecrations from the Metropolican of *England*, it being declared in the time of the said King *William* and his Son, that *Canterbury* was the Mother Church of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and other Islands adjacent

cent, (there being no Arch-Bishops in *Ireland*, till about the yeer 1152. In justification of what is before premised, it is recorded, that *Gotherick* one of the pettie Kings in *Ireland*, did write to *Lanfrank* Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*, for consecration to be granted, to *Patrick*, nominated for a Bishoprick. Also that the said *Arch-Bishop Lanfrank*, out of his authoritie there, did write to *Tourdelnack*, another pettie King there, wherein he laid to their charge, *That the Irish men at their pleasure did forsake their wedded wives without canonicall cause, and match with any others, even such as were neer a kin to themselves or their abandoned wives, and that if another man with like wickednes, cast off a Wife, her also vainly, and hand over head, they joined withal by lawes of marriage, or rather fornication, an abuse worthy to be punished.*

Also that *Murcbertagh* another pettie King of *Ireland*, and the Citizens of *Waterford* addressed to *Anselmus* Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*, *Anno Dom.* 1095. for erecting and ordaining at *Waterford* a Bishop, where no Bishop had been, and for consecrating a Bishop there, whose name was *Malchus*, hee also wrot for consecrating another to be Bishop of *Dublin*, much about the same time; also that the Citizens of *Dublin* sent *Gregorie* (chosen to bee Bishop there) unto *Ralph Arch-Bishop of Canterburie*, suing to him in these words, *viz. Antecessorum vestrorum magisterio, &c.* that is, *Unto the Mastership or chief rule of your Ancestors, wee willingly submitted our Prelats, from which (wee remember) that our Prelats have received their ecclesiasticall dignities, &c.* All which, and other applications of like nature, doe cleerly evince the submission of the Irish Clergie, to the title and superintendencie of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*, their then acknowledged *Metropolitan*.

And to proceed yet a little further, to prove the antient English Title to *Ireland*: *In the Statute of the 11. Regine Elizabethæ*, for granting lands in Ulster to that Queen, her heirs and Successors, It is declared, *That the Crown of England had antient and undoubted Titles to the State and possession of the Land of Ireland, conveied farr beyond the linage of the Irish.* Also By a Statute *tempore Philippi & Mariæ*, *for vesting the two large Territories of Leix and Offaley in the Crowne*: It is there again declared, *That the Crown of England had good right thereunto before, and that the Irish had entred into those Lands*

by

by force, and wrongfully usurped the possession thereof, Which Statutes were enacted by the immediate Ancestors of that supposed Nation now in Rebellion; the one made under a Popish Prince, the other under a Protestant, Other Statutes and Records make like mention of the antient right of *England*, to the Land of *Ireland*; and where there is mention above made of about one hundred yeers quiet possession of the English over all that Island, in the time of *Henry* the second, and after, it may be demanded how afterwards those despicable Irish so gain'd upon the English, as in somtimes they did, and how they obtained such large possessions, as in later times they had: A cleer and obvious Answer to all that well know *Ireland* may be given, That those English Lords Adventurers, having *jura Regalia*, and other great priviledges, and authorities within their Counties Palatine (being eight in number at one time) and therein power to pardon, make Chancellors, Barons and Knights, to make Judges, Sheriffs, and all Officers within themselvs (the Kings having few Sheriffs any where, except in the *Crosses* or *Tipperarie* in *Mounster*, neither was there much Law executed by the Kings immediate Authoritie) those Lords received great yeerlie revenues, and some of them often advanced to the government of that Land, by the King's favour, the Colonies under them being rich, and spread all over the Land. Those Lords being com to the height of prosperitie, and not able wisely to manage and applie to their own good, those great powers, endowments, and Graces of their Kings, fell into jealousies and emulations one against another, whereupon ensued sharp and bloudie contentions, they having power to make peace and warr at pleasure, without the licens or authority of their chief Governors (which power was afterwards taken away by several statutes) they entred into sundrie violences one against another, and combined Parties against Parties; to maintain which, they called in to their Assistance, their known enemies, the Irish, (then grown up into som numbers) and so farr were they transported with their blind envious furie that they put Arms into the hands of the Irish and conducted them to their battails as hired Souldiers: they assumed power to lay Taxes, Cesses, and Impositions upon their English Colonies, Tenants, and Depen-

dents, and by that meanes supported both their English and Irish Soldiers, to the oppression of the other English, but Lords countenancing and strengthning of the Irish, besides training them in Martiall actions. These dissentions and animosities began in the reign of King *John*, as is before touched, but they rose not to much virulence, till towards the end of the reign of King *Henrie* the third, and so continued by fits in the reign of King *Edward* the first, as that King's greater actions in *France*, *Scotland* and *Wales* averted him from the more special care of that Common-wealth; they conflicted in this manner many times, one against another, to the great consumption of their English Tenants, who served under them, as the *Lacies* of *Meath* warred against *Courcie* of *Ulster*, the foresaid *Lacies* after, against the *Bourks* of *Ulster* and *Connaght*, the foresaid *Lacies* against the *Marshals* of *Leinster*, who held that Countrie in right of the daughter & heir of the bovsaid *Richard* Earl of *Pembroke* of *Stigil*, married to *Marshal*: The *Geraldines* of *Mounster* & *Leinster* against the *Butlers*, the *Geraldines* against the *Bourks*, the *Bourks*, against the *Verdons* of *Meath*, & *Lewis*; the *Bourks* against the *Clares*; the *Brimingbams* against the *Verdons* and other English in the *Pale*: The *Geraldines*, *Butlers*, and *Brimingbams* against the *Bourks* and *Poers*, and indeed all the English Progenies, by part-taking and private Offences given, and taken, were imbroiled in the same quarrels, the Irish looking on, and siding whersoever they thought best, striving by their cunning and malicious insinuations, to enlarge and blow everie spark of discord amongst them into flames of hostilitie: Hereupon start up that destructive and wicked custom of *Coigne* and *Liverie*, which was horse-meat, mans-meat, and money taken by the Soldiers upon the Colonies, and English Inhabitants, which custom and exaction, was afterwards by some Statutes made Felonie, and by other Statutes made treason, one whereof hath this expression, *Viz. At the request and supplication of the Commons of this Land of Ireland, &c. Whereas of long time there hath been used & exacted by the Lords and Gentlemen of this Land, many and divers damnable customs and usages, which have been called Coigne and Liverie, that is, horse-meat and mans-meat, for finding their Horse-men and Foot-men, and ever that four-pence a day for every of them, to be had and paid, of*

the

the poor] *earth-tillers and tenants, inhabitants of the same Land, without anie thing doing, or paying for the same, besides manie Robberies, murthers, rapes, and other manifold extortions and oppressions by the said horsmen and footmen, daily and nightly committed and don, which bee the principal causes of the desolation and destruction of the said Land, and hath brought the same into ruine and decaie, so as most part of the* English *Freeholders and tenants have been departed thereof, som into the realm of* England, *and som into other strange Lands; Whereupon the aforesaid Lords and Gentlemen have intruded into the said Freeholders and tenants inheritances, and the same kept and occupied as their own, and set under them in the same Lands the King's Irish enemies, to the diminishing of holy Church-rights, the disherison of the King and his obedient Subjects, and the utter ruine and desolation of the Land; For Reformation whereof, bee it enacted, &c.* By this and manie other like Laws, it is apparent, how the *Irish* thrust themselvs into great quantities of the *English* Land, and afterwards as in the sequel appeareth, made themselvs owners of them; Another waie of their entrance was by frauduent force and incursion, as when by these broils one *Colonie* had ruined another, the *Irish* (beeing in favor with the *English* Lords by their deceitful service) seized upon the weaker *Colonie*, and forced out the inhabitants, which the *English* Lords allowed of for the time, receiving the *Irish* as tenants at will, (though they afterwards turned the Lord's themselvs quite out) Becaus the *Irish* would seem to afford far greater rents, then the old British Freeholder, and also yeild for the time more Subjection, and (basely) also they committed their goods, estates, wives, and children, to the will of those Lords (as formerly, and afterwards they did to the *Irish* Chieftains) another waie of their entrance was, that the *English* Lords (now strangely degenerating, and taking liking to their licentious, sordid, and barbarous cours of living) made them manie times their Officers in their Countries, as *Seneschals*, *Marshals*, and other Officers, (becaus they would slavishly obeie their wills, who by extortion and oppression, in short time forced out the *English* tenants, and in after times held the land as their own, against the verie Lords.

The wideſt Inlet they found, was about the tenth year of

King *Edward* the second, when *Edward Bruice* brother to the King of *Scots* entered into *Ulster* with a power of *Scots*, (storied to bee six thousand) and there committed great slaughter of the *English*, both men, women and children; These gave one overthrew to *Richard de Burgo*, or *Bourk*, and at another time took *William de Burgo* brother to *Richard*, prisoner; they ruined Towns, Castles, houses and Churches, wheresoever they came, and upon these events, the *Irish* there (who formerly durst little shew themselvs, living in the least habitable parts by sufferance of the *English*) rose and joined with the *Scots*, making all the destruction they could of the *English*; with this addition *Edward Bruice* proceeded further, through the parts of *Leinster* (the *Irish* from all parts gathering to him) and from thence marched into *Mounster*, as far as *Cashel*, then did the *Irish* lift up their heads on all sides, following the train of *Bruice*, spoiling and destroying the *English* as far as they could; then the said *Bruice* finding that the *English* began to assemble in som numbers against him, retired into the lower parts of *Meath* (now *Westmeath*) and to the borders of *Ulster*, making it his Master-work to secure that Province within his own power, (though hee often made roads into other parts) which is the first cauſ and ground why *Ulster* became so destitute of *English*, and grew wholly *Irish*, beyond anie other of the Provinces; the *Irish* beeing as zealous as hee to rid themselvs solely of the *English*: In this posture hee continued about three years in *Ireland*, and caused himself to bee proclaimed King by the *Irish*, and about the end of the said three years, making an expedition to invade the *English* of the *Pale*, hee was in the Countie of *Lowth* encountered by *Brimingham* (after created Earl of *Lowth*) and other good forces of the *English*, where the said *Bruice*, and manie of his Commanders were slain, and his Armie totally defeated and rent; Som of the *Scots* returned home, but manie remained there who joined with the *Irish*; in that time the said *Bruice*, and the *Irish* had much dispeopled, and forced most of the *English* out of the Limits and Countries now called the Counties of *Donagal*, *Fermanagh*, *Cavan*, *Tirone*, *Londonderry*, *Monorghan* and *Ardmagh* having sealed their malice by much devastation also,

within

within the Countries of *Antrim* and *Down*, lying between the Sea on the East, and the great *Lough* called *Lough Eaugh*, and the River of *Bann* in the West, hardly accessible by the *Irish*, yet did *William de Burgo* hold up a face of power in *Ulster* by help of other neighbouring *English*, until about the seventh year of King *Edward* the third, when hee was amongst them murthered, leaving onely an heir female, who after married with *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third son to King *Edward* the third, soon after the death of the said *William*, *Hugh ô Neil* taking upon him superioritie amongst the *Irish* (now grown strong through the actions of *Bruice*, and the decaie of the *English*) adventured to break over the *Ban*, and made great havock in the *Colonies* of the Rowt *Clandebois*, *Ardes*, and others within that circuite, who in truth, never in anie degree of their former beeing recovered themselvs after; and thus you see in a manner the full ruine of the *English* in *Ulster*. Another enlargement gained by the *Irish*, upon *English* men's Lands, was soon after the departure of *Bruice* out of *Mounster*, when *Morrice Fitz-Thomas Geraldine* of *Desmond*, having taken into his alliance and service manie of the *Irish*, made eruption into the Counties of *Kerry*, *Limerick*, *Cork*, and part of *Waterford*, and in short time destroied and banished great parts of those *Colonies*, and there placed his followers (more *Irish* then *English*) and forced most of the rest to join, or submit to his will; Soon after did the *Irish* upon the *Shanon* side advance themselvs, and setled in the large Countrie of *Ormond in Tipperary*, then entirely the inheritance of the Earl of *Ormond* (by acquisition of his ancestors) whereof som small parts were after recovered by the succeeding Earls of *Ormond*, which now they hold, the rest remained with the *Irish*, paying som small acknowledgment by composition.

The *Irish* also then entred into several other Wood-land Countries in *Tipperary*, whence terrifying and forcing out the *English*, they seated themselvs there. About the end of the reign of King *Edward* the second (in the absence of the *English* Lords of *Leimster*, *Donald* M^c *Art Covenagh* a bastard branch of *Dermot ne Gall*, late reputed King of *Leimster* (so called in the *Welsh*, and other *Irish* of those parts) brake out, and imbroiled

broiled those *Colonies*, renting from them great parts of the Wood-lands and mountainous Countries, soon after *Lisagh Moor*, and one of the *Conners* in the heart of *Leinster*, discovered themselvs in open enmitie; The said *Lisagh* (taking eight Castles in one evening by surprize) defaced the Castle of *Donamase*, the Earl of *March* his chief hous in *Leix*, and upon the ruining of the *English* in those Countries, the one called himself ô *Moor*, Lord of *Leix*, and the other ô *Conner*, Lord of *Offalie*.

After the death of the said *William de Burgo*, above mentioned, certain of the most active men of the *Irish* in *Connaght*, joining with som degenerate branches of the *Bourks* (who had formerly assisted in the destroying, and rooting out of the *English*, in the Southern parts of *Ulster*, next unto *Connaght*) entered into all the goodly possessions of the said *William*, in *Connaght*, expelled the *English*, and made themselvs Masters of all; One of the said *Bourks* seating himself in the Countie of *Galway* (of whom is descended the Earl of *Clanrickard*, another fastned himself in the Countie of *Mayo*; and both took upon them *Irish* Captain-ships; the one by the name M^r *William Eighter*, and the other by the name of M^r *William Oughter*, retaining with them manie of the *Irish* to inhabit the Land, and fully finish the extirpation of the *English* Freeholders, the rest of the *Irish Partisans* fell into the more northern parts of *Connaght*, as the Counties of *Sligo* and *Leitrim*, and also the Northern parts of the Countie of *Roscomon*, who so fully accomplished the expulsion of the *English*, as in the time of King *Charls*, an intention beeing to plant that Province) upon Inquirie made into everie particular man's holding, there could not bee shewed anie antient Evidence for anie Land holden amongst them, as in the other Provinces of *Mounster* and *Leinster*, are to bee shewed in great numbers.

About the twentie fifth year of King *Edward* the third, was *Richard de Clare* murthered by the men of *Thomond*, at what time, and after, the *Irish* so insulted there, as the *English* were either in short time massacred, or forced into other parts for their more safetie:

And thus is plainly evidenced in brief, part of the means of the

the great incroachments of the *Irish* upon the *English* possessions, especially in the remote parts, and now were the *English* Lords, and such of the *English* Freeholders as they could draw or force with them, arrived at a great height of degeneration; Now had they for the most part betaken themselvs to the *Brehan* or *Tanistree* Law, as they called it, and other *Irish* usages and customs (so destructive to themselvs) and repudiated the *English* Laws brought with them, under which they happily lived, and under which the people of *England* had, and have so manie ages florished, and been famous through providence, except what remained in the five shiers of the *Pale*, and in som small circuits about the walled-Towns, which reteined in som measure the *English* Laws: Now did they generally embrace the *Irish* garb of licentiousnes and tyrannie over the inferiors; They erected amongst themselvs Captain-ships in their Countries, after the *Irish* fashion, and unwisely suffered the *Irish* to do the like, where they had gotten footing, applauding them in all things, whereby the *Irish* were raised into a kinde of Dominion; they little obeied or regarded the Governors sent out of *England* (though for their onely good, and manie times to rescue them from the *Irish* outrages and furie, and reconcile their own unnatural jars) they suffered not the King's Writs to run in their Countries, but they would undertake in a summarie waie, to answer for their followers, as they now call them, for what wrong or crime soever committed; they assumed *Irish* nicknames, as the chief of the *Burks*, M^r *William Brimingham*, M^r *Yorke Mangle*, M^r *Costelo Dexter*, M^r *Jorden Archdeacon*, M^r *Ods Condon*, M^r *Maiog*, one of the *Geraldines*, M^r *Gibbon*, and som hundreds the like in that Land, and this they did in contempt of the *English* name and Nation; They went to the wars in *Irish* furniture to their horses, and *Irish* arms defensive and offensive, shearing their horses mains after the *Irish* manner: Insomuch, as afterwards there was necessitie by Laws to enforce them to ride in saddles; the *Irish* riding onely on small quilted pillions, fastned onely with a surfingle; they combined in full complacencie for court of life with the *Irish* in all things, even to rebellious actions, several times, yea, so far were they sunck in this base degeneration.

degeneration and defection; as the Earl of *Desmond claimed privilege, never to com to Parlament, or within walled Town, but at his own pleasure*, (which privilege hee in Queen *Elizabeth's* time surrendred and renounced) And it was resolved amongst them, that becaus they by violence and oppression had intruded into the Lands of the inferior *English*, and given the *Irish* libertie to dwell there first *at will*, (though it proved otherwise after) and finding the power out of *England* slack to controul them, by reason of other imploimepts; They at length judged it most prefervative to incorporate with the *Irish*, and so cast off the *English* Law and Loialtie, presuming thereby, the better to keep what they had so ravished, knowing well, that if the *English* Law gained concurrencie amongst them, the parties wronged, or their descendents removed as aforesaid, would (doubtles) recover their own, and so shorten the great *revenues and cuttings*, wherein they thought they had ascertained a compleat interest, by those waies of confusion; But it fell out otherwise in short time, for by God's just avengement on their wickednes, the *Irish*, (who manie years lived in the Island as aforesaid, by their sufferance, neither of force, nor anie waie deterred by the *English*; daily increasing in numbers, actuated in Martial Discipline, possessed also (though but at will, of great quantities of Land) they, as opportunities offered, (part whereof is after herein expressed) rose up against their Lords, especially in the Woodland Countries, and called the Lands their own; and in short time became formidable to the *English*, who began now to finde their error, in so prodigiously forgetting themselvs, their noble ancestors and originals, and the glorious Kingdom from whence they came, putting themselvs, in a manner, into the hands of their slavish enemies, and (as may bee said) were transformed into another people: These disorders, fractures, and insolencies, and the great pressures and detriments of the *English* crying loud into *England*, at last the noble and victorious Prince, King *Edward* the third, pitying their deformed and lapsed condition, in the thirtie sixth year of his reign (though his forrein engagements were great and heavie at that time) sent thither as his Lieutenant, *Lionel Duke*

of

of *Clarence* his third son above mentioned, with a competent strength, to reduce things to some better form; this young Lord continued there (for the most part) seven yeers, brought with him a good and honorable Council, both for peace and warr, set himself with all zeal and affection, specially to reorder the English Colonies, if it might be, to reintegrate them in their pristin estates, freedom and government, himself having good interest there as is above touched. To this Livetenant manie of the Irish made submissions, as they had manie times don before to King *Henrie* the second, King *John*, and after to King *Richard* the second, and others, authorised by the Kings of *England*, he had sundrie conflicts with the Irish, verie manie of the English (after a short time) siding with him.

About the 40 yeer of King *Edward* the third, he held that famous Parlament at *Kilkenny*, wherein plainly appear's (by the Lawes made there, and som others formerly enacted by *Rockesby*, Justice of *Ireland* 25 *E.* 3) the great degeneration and deformitie of the old English above specified (Laws and Statutes being the best Dictates of the maladies of times) and that the principal labour was to reform, and bring into temper and rule of Law, the old English Colonies, Som particulars of which Laws were, *viz. Against Parlies with the Irish without leave; That Chieftains should assist and apprehend Felons; Against barbarous Fees and extortions of the Lord's Officers called Marshals; Against the English calling the Irish to help them in their quarrels; Against the Lords distreining contrarie to the English Law; That the English should only use the English Law, and not the custom called the Breban Law, or Marcheor Law.*

That if anie of the English race, should use an Irish name, Irish language, Irish apparrel, or anie other guise or fashion of the Irish, his Lands should bee seised till hee conformed, Or (if he had no Land) then other mulcts were appointed; That the Lords should not disturb the King's Officers in executing their Offices; That Serjeants Bailiffs should execute the commands of the King and of the Sheriffs, that the Sheriffs and Serjeants of Franchises, should give acquittances for the Kings money received of Debtors, and receiv and pay by Indenture: That no Sheriffs should hold Courts contrarie to the Common Law; That the Eng-

Iriſh ſhould not marrie, nor Goſſip with the Iriſh; That the Engliſh ſhould uſe the Engliſh language and nurture; That old and new Engliſh ſhould all alike be called Lieges of the King; That no Engliſh ſhould uſe Iriſh or barbarous ſports; that no Iriſh Pipers, Rimers, bablers, Skelagbs, Ferdanes, Carraghs or news-tellers, ſhould bee ſuffered to com amongſt the Engliſh: That no Kearns, Hoblers, nor idle men ſhould range, take meat, &c, of the people againſt their wills, but bue and crie to be made after them.

That no Iriſh ſhould be admitted to benefits, or entred into religious houſes: That Judges ſhould travel half yeerly to enquire of offences, and to execute the Law: That four Juſtices of peace, of and in each Countie ſhould charge the Inhabitants with horſ and foot to defend themſelvs againſt Iriſh enemies: That robberies committed in the guildable, ſhould not be protected in the franchiſes, and ſo on the contrarie, but the theeves to be delivered up to the proper officers; and many other like Laws, were then made towards reſtauration, and recompoſing of the then deformed and adulterated Engliſh; and for the further redreſs, divers other Laws (ſom before, and ſom after) were made, *viz. One to take away protections, which with frequent pardons were obſerved to be peſtilent Remora's to the Engliſh reſtitution and ſecure peace,* inſomuch as King *Edward the third*, towards the later end of his reign, ſent two Ordinances into *Ireland*, *viz.*

Firſt, *Juſtitiarius Hiberniæ non concedat pardonationes de morte hominis, nec de roberiis, ſeu incendiis, et quòd de cætero certificet dominum Regem de nominibus petentium.*

Secondly, *Item quòd nec Juſtitiarius, nec aliquis magnat Hiberniæ, concedat protectiones alicui contra pacem regis exiſtentis.* And the experience of the common damnage by ſuch pardons, and protections ever ſince, prove's the malignancie of them, that being charged by divers good authors (converſant in Iriſh affairs) to be the diſhonour and ruine of the Common-wealth: Other Laws were alſo made, *viz. One to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Engliſh and Iriſh, by the cutting off their beards:* Another, *againſt the taking of amends for the murther of a friend:* Another *That no man ſhould ſtirr up the Iriſh to aſſiſt in their warr:* Another, *Againſt taking Theeves into Comerick* (in Engliſh) *protection*: All which Laws at *Kilkenny* were after confirmed, and revived by another Law made in the tenth yeer of King *Henrie* the ſeventh Chap. 8, Wherein are theſe words, *viz.* As long as thoſe Laws were put

put in ure and execution, this Land continued in prosperitie and honor, and since they were not executed, the people rebelled and digressed from their obedience, and the Land fell to ruine and desolation, &c. And the truth is, it appear's by good Histories of those times, and more authentically by Records, both of the Exchequer & Common-pleas of those yeers, that by practice of these Lawes, and the industrie & travel of the said *Lionel*, notable alteration was made, in the manners of the people, and much don of value towards the restitution of the English Government, in the English Colonies; That the Crown-Revenues, both certain and casuall, were duly accompted for in all the Provinces, and that the King's Writ did run, & the Common-Law executed in all parts amongst the English.

This Duke built the wals of *Catherlagh*, hee also reduced much lands in *Connaght* and *Ulster*, into the English mens hands, and this good order continued all the residue of that King's reign, and part of the reign of King *Richard* the second, but towards the middle of his time, the Irish and som farr degenerate English, hearing of the Duke of *Clarence* his death in *Italie*, and finding great dissentions to arise in *England*, combined themselvs to the fresh annoiance of the English, and prosecuting their long intendment to exstirpate them: And now did the English finde cause to raise themselvs into defens against the Irish, which they were afterwards dangerously put unto: thereupon that King having received repulse in his affectation to bee Emperor, and desirous to act somthing of glorie, and satisfaction to his people, about the 18 yeer of his reign, undertook a roial expedition into *Ireland*, transporting with him 30000 foot, and 4000 men at Arms, as the Chronicles relate, whereat the Irish being terrified, fell into their old lock of submissions (the verie gulf which hath hitherto swallowed up all the essaies and labors of reformation there) hoping thereby to dissolv that force, and frustrate his good deign; and to insist on the verie truth, that court of pardons upon submissions of the Irish, hath for at least three hundred yeers past, bottomed all the combustions and insults of the Irish.

That King being not in case to be long absent, was perswaded to accept of their submissions, which hee did from all the

powerful men of the Irish, and som degenerate English Lords, those Irish of *Leimster* taking Oath to leav the Land to his free dispose by a certain time.

Great quantities of the *Leimster* land were granted to Sir *John de Bellomonte*, and others, whose issues long after enjoyed it, he also conditioned with the Irish of *Connaght* and *Ulster* upon their submissions, to restore the Lands to the *English*, which the *Irish* never performed: So this young Prince abused by the fraudulent submissions of the Irish, (as others before, and after were) returned with his men into *England*, leaving the English in *Ireland*, in but a little better case then he found them: Soon after his departure the Irish brake forth, and stood up for their ends, as high as ever, whereupon ensued great conflicts between them and the English, in one of which was slain *Mortimer* Earl of *March* the King's Lievtenant; thereupon did many of the English (overhaled with burthens and harrowings) relinquish their estates, and resort into *England*, to side with Parties there, as their affections did lead them, though Lawes were in *Ireland*, and Ordinances in *England*, as well to stop their going, as to return them back.

It is not recorded nor known (as is conceived) that in the reigns of King *Henrie* the fourth, or King *Henrie* the fifth, (who were much taken up in other busines) any forces were sent into *Ireland*, whereby the Irish inlarged much, partly through the departure of the English, and chiefly by the great devastations they formerly suffered, besides what diminutions they endured by several Kings, transmitting great numbers of them to assist in the warrs of *France*, *Scotland* and *Wales*, in several times.

In the former part of the reign of King *Henrie* the sixth, *Ireland* continued In the same posture; the *English* beeing now put to their defence in all parts, but the greatest and most remarkable decaie, and ruine of the prosperitie, and possession of the *English* in *Ireland* began in the later end of the reign of King *Henrie* the sixt, and in the beginning of King *Edward* the fourth; For after the middle of the reign of King *Henrie* the sixt. *Richard Duke of York* beginning to whisper his right to the Crown more audibly then before, hee was soon

soon after sent into *Ireland Lievtenant*, which was somtimes usual, as a removal of such as were dangerous, or pretended trouble; There hee had given him much regal autoritie more then might bee consonant to right reason, had they well considered the place, or the consequences, hee was continued there nine or ten years by himself, and his Deputies, himself making starts into *England*, which, as it was handled, amplified his power in *Ireland*, hee had power to dispose the King's revenues, as hee thought fit, hee had power to grant and let the King's Lands in *Ireland*, to place and displace officers, and to wage what men hee thought good: This Lord (esteemed there a person of high blood) having an eie more upon events in *England*, then the reducement of *Ireland*, applied himself for the most part towards his own pretentions, hee entertained both parties, *English* and *Irish* in a plausible waie, travelling in his secret thoughts to fasten parties to him, against the time hee might have use of them; Hee tolerated the *Irish* to hold what they had formerly intruded unto, not sparing favors where hee obser ved reason to oblige, and they regarding somwhat his high birth (a thing they seem most to adore) were by those means held more quiet then in former times, hee conteined the *English* by courtesie and fair entreatie, and by bestowing of imploiments, so as hee found great adherence by waie of personal affection, hee made som journies into *England*, always accompanied with som of the Gentrie of *Ireland*, to propagate and ripen confederacie; In *England* hee endured the changes of war; At last hee was forced into *Ireland*, where hee gather's more strength, and hearing that *Warwick* and *Salisburie* had taken the King, hee com's over, attended with good nnmbers of the *English* Lords and others, and som of the *Irish*, Hee obtein's his ends in Parlament; The Queen flie's into *Scotland*, and coming back, the Duke of *York* meet's her at *Wakefield*, where hee was slain, and manie of those of *Ireland* with him; the Earl of *Ormond* on the other side, beeing a professor to the hous of *Lancaster*, passed into *England* about the same time, with manie of the *English*, and som *Irish*; the Earl of *Merch* encounter's him, and others at *Mortimer's* Cros in *Wales*; there is *Ormond* and the rest defeated; and manie of *Ireland*

ſlain: So as what by the companies which at times paſſed over with the Duke of *York*, and what by ſuch as voluntarily led themſelvs into *England*, on both ſides, during thoſe combuſtions, great conſumptions of thoſe of *Ireland* could not but bee the conſequent, eſpecially, the Gentrie and beſt men: Hereupon did the *Iriſh* on all ſides exſpatiate, and faſten upon the *Engliſh* poſſeſſions, where they could reach, and indeed in ſhort time ſo dilated themſelvs, as they for the time forced the *Engliſh* into their ſtrengths, and into narrow rooms; they confirmed themſelvs in their formerly erected and uſurped Captainſhips, which before the reign of King *Henrie* the eight, were far to manie, and moſt of them ſo continued, till the end of the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, therein exerciſing an abſolute tyrannical power over all inferiors, aſwell all ſuch *Engliſh* as hazarded to continue amongſt them, as the *Iriſh*; And here may the *Queriſt*, and all others take full view of the progreſs, foot-ſteps, and means of the *Iriſh* incroachments upon the *Engliſh* poſſeſſions, though it is true, that in after times manie of the *Engliſh* became repoſſeſſed of much of their antient Lands, except in *Ulſter* and *Connaght*, in which Provinces manie of the old *Engliſh* are now as barbarous as the meer *Iriſh*, hardly to bee diſtinguiſhed; yet by what is above written, it grow's more lucid and cleer, that the Inhabitants of that Iſland, who now ſtand in arms againſt *England*, (who in ſeveral ſucceſſions ſetled them there) are not ſuch an entire nation fixed there *by God and Nature*, free from anie other power and challenge, as the *Queriſt* propound's them, and where the entiretie of ſuch a Nation (footed there as is pretended) is to bee found, (as things are before diſcovered) will require a verie wearieſom ſcrutinie, and at laſt ſatisfie no underſtanding man. Nay, it is avouched by ſeveral good writers, and may bee truly aſſerted in the experience of ſuch as well underſtand *Ireland*, that ſetting aſide the firſt Inhabitants from Britain, and other Nations inſerted there by the permiſſion of the Britains, and ſuch as had power in Britain, and ſuch as of themſelvs intruded before the entrance of King *Henrie* the ſecond, promiſcuouſly laced amongſt them, who all now paſs under the Notion, and ſtyle of the old *Iriſh*, the

very

verie *Engliſh* ſent in thither by King *Henrie* the ſecond, and other Kings ſucceeding him before King *James*, and who at the beginning of this Rebellion were really ſtated, and veſted in Lands in that Iſland, (though not in numbers and bodies of men (becauſ moſt of the Churls, and laborers as aforeſaid, were *Iriſh*) nor perhaps in quantities and extents of Lands, yet in true value and command, over others) did far exceed, and were far more eſtimable and powerful in that Iſland, then thoſe, denominated the old *Iriſh*, beſides the the great towns, which (as is above ſaid) are wholly, in a manner, *Engliſh*: for conſider their preſent compoſure of perſons, and affairs, even after this late horrid and inhumane eradication of the new *Engliſh* and proteſtants:

Firſt, Their Nobilitie (now in rebellion) are all old *Engliſh* except a verie few, which were, and yet are both weak in power and ſtrength.

Their ſupream Council (as they call it) and other Provincial, and Countie Councils, and their general Aſſemblie are for the moſt part old Engliſh, moſt of the beſt Commanders in the war are of the ſame; moſt of their horſ and manie of their foot, (who have been moſt daring in the Rebellion) are of the ſame; the whole frame of their new-Modelled-Government was at firſt digeſted, and is ever ſince countenanced, and enlivened by the old Engliſh, they ſeem in their conſtitutions to put themſelvs for the moſt part (in wale of policie at preſent) into the frame of the *Engliſh* Laws, becauſ they well know, how uncertain and barbarous their ſuppoſed *Iriſh* Laws were, (though verie manie of them rather deſire the old *Iriſh* Tyrannie, and rude exorbitancie) And were it not that the old *Engliſh* were, and ſtill are, that the bodie of their order and connexion, even apparently managing their whole partie, as to war and Government, the reſt would ſoon diſſolv into their old *Kearniſh* habit, both in fight, and onely confidence in bogs and woods; And which ſeem's moſt of amazement in this buſineſs, the old *Engliſh* (ſhewing themſelvs of late years in manie things, much more ſwelling and envious againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the *Engliſh* Government and converſation then the meer *Iriſh*) were the principal contrivers, and ripeners of this deſtable Rebellion, and Aſſaſſination.

tion, without whose incitement and flexible concurrence, (as *Ireland* at the begining of the Rebellion stood furnished with multitudes of new *English* in all parts, (except *Connaght*, where they were fewest) and strengthned with the old *English*, if they had stood loial to their own Nation, or really sensible of their own happiness (as in nature and all prudence they should have don) the *Irish* no wale durst have entered upon such an attempt against the *English* and Protestants, especially a Parlament then sitting in *England*, who they might well believ would so far distaste such high and unparaleld Ravages, and horrible effusion of bloud (without cause or provocation) committed upon som of their own flesh and bloud, and also such savage indignities offered to the *English* Nation, as that they would speedily bend their power to redress and revenge the same; And yet it may bee considered, that the opportunitie of the attempt of the *Irish* will not appear so strange; when wee consider their animation, and incouragement to have its rise from manie of the Native Inhabitants of *England*, of the same *Religion* with the *Irish* Rebels, who made it their work to feel the pulse, and finde the distempers of *England* to that end: And the Commissioners procured for the *Irish* to secure the persons and Estates of the *English* Protestants of *Ireland* was to speak effectively) to command them to destroie both, which (if not speedily executed) might have exspired or been rewaked upon discoverie, which is most obvious; it wee reflect upon the several journies of the popish partie of those Agents imploied by the Parlament in *Ireland*, to the eminent Popish Families in *England*, as *Brown*, and *Plunket* have often (with ostentation) acknowledged, besides the constant Negotiation of M^r *Brent*, an *English* Papist and expert manager of such a business) to manie of the active Papists of *England* at the same time, doth fully manifest the same with suits, with the constant expressions of the Rebels, in all parts of *Ireland*, affirming there could bee no exspectation of anie considerable, or seasonable relief out of *England*. It is also too well known, that when the Cavalier interest had life in it, the *English* Romanists would often boast of this their Master-piece their managing the *Irish* insurrection (as they termed it) at that season wherein it should finde least opposition from *England*, and so most succesful for the improvement of the Catholick caus. The

The names of the old Englisſh, now ſtated and planted in *Ireland*, as can at preſent bee remembred of many hundreds there reſident, at the beginning of this Rebellion, and for the moſt part yet being there, with the mention what Noble men are of thoſe Families, without mentioning what greater and further Members are of each, or any of their Names or Families, are as followeth.

Archbalds
Aſhes, aliàs *de fraxineto*
Almers
Allens
Arthurs
Archers
Ailworth or Ailward
Audleys
Archdecons
Arundels

Butlers 6 Noble men of the name.
Bourks 5 Noble men.
Barries 1 Noble man.
Bremingbams 1 Noble man.
Barnwels 2 Noblemen.
Brownes.
Bagnals
Burnels
Bambes

Bellow alias *Bedlows*
Blakes
Belins
Bagots
Blackneys
Brandons
Blanchfeilds
Benſons
Balfe
Beiſe
Brewer
Bale
Brian
Buſher
Burford
Brereton
Barret
Benfeild
Baron

Birt alias Britt
Barington
Bagenale
Beard

Courcies 1 Noble man.
Chevers
Cusacks
Cogan
Cadels
Colleys
Cosby
Cods
Cruces
Chamberlain,
Chaceys or Caseys
Clintons
Clinches
Comerfords
Cosgraves
Colbies
Cosbies
Condon
Cossen
Conron
Cashell
Cardiff
Colclogh
Crolie
Carey
Coffie
Coppinger
Comins

Clundake
Dillons 2 Noble men.
Dowdales
Dungans
Darcies
Devereuxes
Dalions, Drilands
Dormers
Donnels or M'-Donnels 1 Noble man.
Downes
Denn, Dixon
Dromgool
Daniel
Dobbin
Deering
Delamarts
Deece
Devels
Draicot
Dardes
Drakes
Dexeters 2

Elliots
Evers alias Ewre
Eustacks
Esmond
Everard, English

Fitz-Garalds 1 Noble man.
Fitz-Morris, 1 Noble man.

Fitz-

Fitz-Williams 1 Noble man.
Fitz-Simons
Fitz-Harries
Frends, Fians
Fennels
Fitz Stephens
French
Font or Fawnt
Fitz Zery
Fitz-Leones
Flemings 1 Noble man.
Flatsburie
Foxes
Foreſtal
Forlongs
Fitz Nichols
Forſters
Finglaſſes
Fettrels
Fanings
Faies
Frenches

Garnons
Grants
Garvies
Grahams
Gerons
Graces
Goldings
Goghes
Galtrims
Galwaies

Hores
Harpenies
Huſſies
Haſſans
Hides or de la Hides
Hardins
Hollinwoods
Hetheringtons
Howlins
Harpools
Handcock
Hays
Hadſors
Hurleys, Hopps
Harries, Harriſons
Herberts, Horis
Harold.

Jordans
Jans
Joices
Jacobs
Itchingham

Kings
Keatings
Kents

Laulis, Lenard
Luttrels, Lanſant
Lacies
Lanes
Linches

Levels
Leicesters
Ledwiches
Longs
Locks
Lamports

Moores
Missets
Mastersons
Morris
Martins
Mandevils
Meilers
Meilers
Malpas
Masons

Mellins
Netervils 1 Noble man.
Nugents 1 Noble man.
Nangles
Nettinghams
Newils

Ovingtons

Plunkets 3 Noble men.
Prestons 1 Noble man.
Powers 1 Noble man.
Purcels
Peirce
Pigot
Pendergasts
Philips

Peppards
Penteins
Petits
Prowdfoots

Roches 1 Noble man.
Rogers
Rices
Reinolds
Rochforths
Roceter
Russels
Roths
Remond
Reinolds

Stantons
Sentlawrences 1 Noble man.
Sarsfields 1 Noble man.
Skelton
Strong
Sedgraves
Sinnots
Shortels
Sempes
Sankies
Sigen
Samonds alias St Amonds.
Scurlock
St John
Sherlock
Stanleys
Stapletons

Sears

Sears
Stephens
S^r Michael
Silvester
Suttons
Stritch
Staffords
Swords
Scallann
Skiddies alias Scudamore
Sermons
Smiths
Sentlegers
Savages

Talbots
Tints
Taffs 1 Noble man.
Turners
Tirrels
Trawnt

Travers
Tallon

Ushers
Verdons
Verden
Veal

Walshes
Wolverstons
Wegans
Wottons
Whits
Waddings
Walters
Wises
Westons
Welleſley
Workley
Whitties
Wickens

THere are 29 Families more, not there named of later diſcent, which have every one a Noble man thereof, whoſe Eſtates are in *Ireland*. And there are but eight noble men in *Ireland* of meer *Iriſh*.

So that the Nobilitie of Engliſh deſcent (not reckoning thoſe that live in *England*, who onely have honors and no eſtates there) are ſeven to one of the *Iriſh*.

And there are in all about ninetie two Nobilitie of *Ireland*.

I had

I had almost forgotten one thing of considerable value, which is this, admitting that the pretended antient title of the meer *Irish* were (as it is not) good to the Lands of *Ireland*, yet nothing is more true then that great parts thereof have been bought at dear rates, by the *English* from the *Irish*, and more would have been, had the *Irish* frequent proffers a little before their last Rebellion been accepted of by the *English*, to whom the *Querist* must need's allow a deer interest in the Lands so purchased; as also to their personal estates, and those that deprive them of such their Civil Right, can bee no other then thieves and robbers, and at once root out God's Law, man's propertie, and National Equitie, so just is this *Querist* to God and Nature, on whom hee would father the *Irish* depredations and murthers; And this may in som measure suffice for an Answer to the first *Quere*, at least to shew how the *Querist* seek's to blinde inadvertent men with a far fetched supposition, which want's substance in every particular (when examined) yet framed as an Engine to retard all succors for *Ireland*, then at the point to bee lost.

The second Quere.

WHether a people or Nation so setled, have not a power to establish all Laws, Government, Offices, and Officers amongst themselves, and to oppose and execute all such as shall endeavor, to impose and obtrude upon them, Laws, Government, Offices and Officers, without, or against their consent.

The

The second Answer.

THe *Irish* are not such a people or Nation, so setled, have not a power to establish all Laws, Government, &c. But the people of *England*, to whom *Ireland* belong's, are, and have such a power to establish all Laws, Government, Offices and Officers in *Ireland*, their own Dominions, and to oppose and execute all such, as shall endeavor to impose and obtrude in their said Dominions, Laws, Government, Offices, and Officers, without, or against their consent.

The third Quere.

WHether God and Nature having given a people and Nation such a possession of Lands, and som other Prince or people should invade or conquer them, deprive them of much of their Land, impose Laws, Government, and Officers upon them, without, or against their consent; if it bee anie other then robberie in the Invaders and the just right of the invaded and conquered, to cut off their enemies, to procure their own Freedom and inheritance again?

The third Answer.

GOd and Nature hath so given *Ireland* for a possession and Government to the Inhabitants, and people of *England*, from.

from the beginning, as in the Answer to the first *Querre* is cleer. And this *Querre* more properly relates to the *English* just title against the claim of the *Irish*, who were not the original Inhabiters of *Ireland*, and so no claim from God and Nature for such a possession of theirs; and therefore the *Irish* invasion and expulsion of the *English*, depriving them of much of their Lands; framing Laws, Government, and Officers in the *English* Dominions, or against the *English* consent, is no other then robberie in the *Irish* Invaders, and it is the just right of the Invaded (and part conquered) *English* to cut off their *Irish* enemies, and to procure theirs and their Brethren's freedom, to regain their own lawful government and inheritance.

And for further resolution, this *Querre*, as it is stated, is not the case of the *Irish*: For as before is truly said, the permission of the British planted, and gave them first footing there, and the several Conquests (or rather reducements of them) by the British there, was no invasion, but a bringing of the rebelling *Irish* to due obedience, and Christian-like submission to their supreme Governors, whose right onely it is, to impose Laws, Governors, and Officers upon them, and therefore no robberie for the *English* to enter on their own Land, but most just to punish, and dissеise them, who by their frequent Rebellions were no more to bee trusted with them, then a mad-man with a sword: yet the indulgence of the *English* Government hath always been so great, as to take but a part of the Rebel's estates, whereas they had forfeited all by their iterated former rebellions; Then where is the cause or right of the *Irish*, to cut off the *English* in cold blood, in time of peace, and in the best Government, and improvement the *Irish* ever injoyed?

The

The fourth Quere.

WHether length of time, where the original Nation is distinct from the Conqueror, doth swallow up the right of the conquered, that they have no right to seek after, and regain their own freedoms and possessions, yea or no?

The fourth Answer.

LEngth of time cannot privilege, or discharge a people originally subordinate to another, from their due conformitie, and obedience to the Laws and Government of those, by whose permission they were received into the Verge of their dominions, as the *Irish* were into the dominions of the British in *Ireland*, neither are the *Irish* Rebels (as now composed) a distinct Nation of themselvs, nor so distinct in descent from those, who at all times lawfully reduced them. But that the now most ruling, and powerful partie of the Rebels are descended of *English* lineage, as aforesaid; and neither they, nor the other old degenerate *English* can justly pretend to anie Land there, but what hath been passed unto them under the great Seal of that Land, and therefore their freedom and right cannot bee anie wise said to bee swallowed up by the *English*; for, from anie other they cannot truly derive either their Freedom, Lands or possessions, as beeing granted unto them by the *English*, and the meer *Irish*, (as is abovesaid) not beeing half of the Inhabitants of *Ireland*, nor of anie considerable riches, strength or policie.

The fift Quere.

HOw can the conquered justly bee called, or accounted Rebels, if anie time, they shall seek and endeavor to free themselvs, and to regain their own Lands and Liberties?

The fift Answer.

THe Inhabitants of *Ireland*, now in *Arms* against the power and just right of *England*, are no better then perfidious rebels, intruders, and inhumane blood-suckers, not onely for the causes before shewed, but for their iterated Rebellions, and former massacring of the *English*, and have been well known to bee such brutish enemies for divers ages past; And if it should bee allowed, that they at their wills and pleasures might shake off the yoke of obedience, and to perpetrate the inhumane cruelties, semblable to their former, then would they at length (as it were) change their shape of men into the state of Divels.

The sixt Quere.

WHether Julius Cæsar, Alexander the great, William Duke of Normandie, or anie other the great Conquerors of the world, were anie other

other then so manie great and lawles thievs; And whether it bee not altogether as unjust to take our neighbor Nations, Lands, and liberties from them, as our neighbor's goods of our own Nation?

The sixt Answer.

HEre might I now suspend further labor (as superfluous, in contesting with extravagant impertinencies, having expended much time upon the main. But I have alreadie (as I conceiv) irrecoverably thrown down the false foundation, upon which this presumptuous Impostor doth rear the whole fabrick of his insnaring Queres. In the fall whereof they are slaughtered, as I may saie, in the mother's bellie, resolved, before well objected, and may bee left as dead, and buried in their first ruines, yet since the easiest part of my task is now behinde, I will wave the trouble I might justly avoid in being silent, and crave leav to proceed in the solution of the remaining interrogations to their utmost borders, lest by such silence I should give advantage to the contriver of them, to surfet with conceit of his supposed unanswerable suggestions.

By this question that now look's so big, stare's us in the face, and speak's so loud: the *Querist* may drive som of mean Judgment into amazement, though indeed hee manifesteth but a weakness in that his endeavor, to render the *English* title dubious, and make our Nation, persons, and interest, odious by an infamous indicting of us under the notion of thievs, robbers, invaders, &c. Onely for our credit thus much, hee arraign's with us, or us with them, the great Conquerors of the world, *Julius Cæsar*, *Alexander the great*, and *William* the *Norman*, in whom (indeed) all the great Rulers of the earth are concerned and comprehended by this pernicious stickler for *Irish* Rebels; of whose ridiculous folly beeing sensible enough, I give him no other Answer then a flat and express denial

denial to that hee aim's to gain by a confeſſion on our part, and what hee is not able to prove on his own; But I laie hold upon that which (undeſired) hee grant's unto us in the queſtion, and then to anſwer the *Quere*.

Taking him therefore upon his own confeſſion, hee who elſwhere ſtrongly endeavor's to ſmother our original proprietie, and intereſt, doth there beſtow upon us a four-fold good title (if other things ſhould fail) to that Land, unto which they the *Iriſh* ſo unjuſtly pretend; As in his ſeveral *Queres*, firſt a conqueſt; Secondly, a preſcription, and actual poſſeſſion in the Britiſh; Thirdly, a Legiſlative power; fourthly their ſubjection, (though a diſtinct people, yet living amongſt us) unto the *Engliſh* Government.

The Anſwer now followeth, which is reduced to theſe affirmative poſitions.

Firſt, that the Conquerors therein mentioned, and comprehended, ought not to carrie the character of lawleſs thievs.

Secondly, that titles and dominions atchieved by conqueſt, are not robberies, but juſtifiable titles and poſſeſſions.

The firſt of theſe concern's the perſon of the Conqueror, the ſecond the right of the things poſſeſſed. Might wee but propound one *Quere* to this bold Aſſertor, it ſhould bee this.

What Autor can hee produce for this prophane and abſurd Language? the worſt of prophane hiſtories afford no pattern to theſe expreſſions.

Is a Conqueror no more then a *Bandetto*, a Pirate, a Barrabas, or one of the Arabian fraternities? Muſt the actions of publick perſons impowred by God, acted by divine impulſions, and oftentimes executing for God an unknown Commiſſion againſt the Inhabitants of the world for their tranſgreſſions, bee ſtained with, and carrie the black Character of *Lawleſs thievs*; Surely no, this is not the language of the ſervant of the living God, but of the ſervant of the lying ſpirit, the falſ accuſer.

What if the actions of theſe Conquerors bee chargeable with ſom irregularities, and perſonal vitiofities uſually concurrent

in victories. They may bee matters of lamentation to the world, and ſad accounts too; but no ground for ſuch denominations.

To inſtance.

Let us pitch upon *Nebuchadnezzar* that Babylonian Monarch, called *The hammer of the whole earth, the great deſtroier of Nations*, was hee not one of the worſt of Adverſaries unto the people of God, witneſs Sion's complaint againſt him, yet was ever this infamous title attributed to him by anie of the captivated people. *Dan. 2. 7. Jer. 50. 23. Jer. 51. 34, 35.*

Nay, doth not God ſpeak of him in tearms of honor, looking on him as an inſtrument to act his own deſign, being one of the rods of his anger, and the ſtaff of his indignation, ſtyling him oftentimes *My ſervant*, and his work *his ſervice*, and one unto whom God for his own work aſſigned *Egypt* for the wages of his Armie; And doth not *Daniel* the ſervant of the living God, and a Captive of the blood Roial, honor him with the awful tearms and title of Magiſtracie in theſe words; *O King, live for ever.* *Jer. 25. 9. Jer. 27. 6. Ezek. 29. 18, 19, 20. Dan. 6. 21. Dan. 2. 37.*

What ſhall wee ſaie of *Ceſar Octavius*, under whoſe Government the Saviour of the world was born, by whoſe power the Jewiſh Nation were kept in ſubjection, doth not the Evangeliſt S^t *Luke* put that Romane ſtamp of dignitie (*Auguſtus*) upon him: *Nomen quaſi Sanctum & veneratione dignum*, ſaith *Burgenſis*, The Jews gave him the title of a lawful Magiſtrate, and a King, ſaying, wee have no King, but *Ceſar*. *Auguſtine* had reverend language towards the Ceſarian Armies, affirming this, *Autores belli Dei miniſtri*: and in his Epiſtle to *Boniface* a militarie Commander in the Romane Legions uſeth theſe words: *Nequaquam putare debes eos qui rei-publicæ inſerviunt, Deo placere non poſſe*: *John* the Baptiſt (who loſt his head for the freedom of his Language) when the Ceſarian ſouldiers of the meaner rank frequented his Miniſtrie, did not bid them laie down their Arms as unlawful, or frown upon them as thieves, or diſcourage them with ſuch Dialects, but diſcipline's them as Scholars for the School of Chriſt. *Do violence to no man, and bee content with your wages.* If God from the mouth of the holie ſon, ſtyle's them *ſervants*; If holie *John*

men taught by the Spirit of God, and religious knowing men never took up such vilifying Language against the great Conquerors of the world, and the *hammers of the earth* the *Assyrians*, *the Persians*, *the Grecians*, *and the Romans* to whom the supreme Lord of all gave the Kingdoms and Dominions of the earth; how unwarrantable will it bee for the sons of men to open their mouths contumeliously against the Ministers of the Lord of Hosts, into whose hands hee hath put the revenging sword, and crowned it with victorie, thereby declaring the secret purposes of his good pleasure, concerning those people against whom they are sent, and preordained for Justice and Judgment.

Having thus setled the unquestionable title of honored Majestie upon such Conquerors, and vindicated them from the black infamie (the Language of hell, and not of Saints) which the *Queriſt* would intail upon them, I now com to make good my second Position, in answer to this sixt *Quere*.

A title or dominion atteined by Conquest is not robberie, as the Conquerors are not lawless thievs, God putting all their acquirements by Conquests upon the accompt of his own free donation, and not upon robberie or theft.

Jer. 27. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. *Dan.* 2. 37. 39. *Isa.* 36. 10. 2 *King.* 18. 25.

Take a short view of mutations in the world made by Conquests in former ages: May not the same bee affirmed from thence, and other paralel Scriptures, that the mutations and revolutions of Crowns and Kingdoms, Governments and Governors, the breaking in and casting out of Nations, are the effect of divine ordination, managed and brought to pass by exorbitant and irregular motions of men, publickly impowred, and by extraordinarie provocations raised up to the attempting of actions, above the rank and sphere of ordinarie dispensations. Is not the power of God still the same, *to give his kingdoms of the earth, when, and to whom hee pleaseth.* *Dan.* 4. 17.

It was the Judgment of *Peter Martyr*, writing de *Jure belli*, *Non tantùm à principio mutationes factas esse, sed in posterioribus, tempore belli; Later ages will produce Mutations in times of war, aswel as former.*

And then why may not befal to those Inhabitants of *Ireland* (which challenge the Land to bee given them by God and

and Nature) that which hath betided other Nations, by the secret counsels of that God, in whose hands the Inhabitants of the earth are tossed as a ball?

Did not *Eneas* by conquest of the *Latines* settle his posteritie in *Italie*? did not the *Franks*, by invasion and conquests take possession of *Gallia* (now their native habitation)? was not *Britain* in *France* surprized by the power of the *English Saxons*, and from them denominated, continuing in their possession to this daie? Did not the *Huns* becom Masters of *Pannonia* (now of them called *Hungarie*;) And to conclude, is not Conquest an universal title throughout the world? Is not that *Jus gentium quod ubique valet*; And if this *Jus Belli* stand for a Plea for them, why may not wee then saie as the Civillians fully resolv the lawfulness and proprietie of things gotten by war in this known *Maxime*, *Ea quæ ab hostibus capiuntur, jure gentium statim fiunt capientium.*

I cannot omit som material instances, and so conclude the Answer to this *Quere*, whereby the present acting power of a Conqueror is allowed, and approved in an usurper by the Lord Jesus Christ, who was born under an usurping power to teach us, as a judicious Commentator observ's, *Indicat deinde ipsâ nativitate se non pellere magistratum ordinarium adventu suo, imò approbare*, who, besides his universal title to all the world, had an indubitable title and claim to the temporal Kingdom of the *Jews*, then under the Romane usurping power, (Witness that antient Manuscript, *Michael Nauclerus de Monarchia divina, ex libro vaticano*) yet did so far submit unto the title of Conquest, and his intrusion, that hee the lawful heir was contented to becom a Subject in his own Land, *Eodem tempore quo multi Tyranni occupabant*; though *all power was his, and hee that little stone* foretold *that hee should bee cut out of the Mountain, &c.* yet hee neither smite's them with tongue, nor opposeth them by practice, but practically useth and teacheth obedience by paying tribute, yea, becom's an Advocate for *Cesar's* interest; *Give unto Cesar that which is Cesar's*, and in a word was so far from exclaiming against that Romane (though usurping) autoritie, that hee *looking up to Heaven, affirm's the usurper's powers to bee of God*, and therefore afterwards submit's Dan. 2. 45.

to

to an unjust Sentence of death, whose steps, the holie Apostle following, and filled with the Spirit of the same Christ, the onely blessed potentate doth in expreis terms, without exclusion, enjoin submission to all sorts of pow r, &c. Hee saic's not, *they have no title, they came in by Conquest, they are thievs, Robbers*, but honor's them with the title of lawful Magistrates, and command's the conquered Subject upon pain of damnation, to afford obedience unto them as the Ministers of God, using these words, that *all powers that bee, are of God.*

Rom. 13. v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

And for the later part of this *Quere, viz. Whether it bee not altogether as unjust to take our neighbor's Lands and Liberties from them, as our neighbor's goods from our own Nation?* It is answered, that although the *Irish* have verie long usurped the possession of the Lands and Liberties of the *English* in *Ireland* (beeing the Lands and Liberties in the neighboring Countrie, which the *Querist* meaneth, and which of right, and from antiquitie, and so until this daie do truly and justly belong to the *English*, as in the first *Quere* is resolved:) Yet neither when this present Rebellion brake out in *Ireland*, nor of a number of yeers before, were anie Lands or Liberties unjustly taken, held, or deteined from anie the Rebels of *Ireland.*

And hee can pretend to nothing but dull ignorance, that know's it not to have been still consistent, with the Laws and Customs aswel of *England*, as of other civil Nations of the world, to seiz, and take the goods and liberties of such neighbors of their own Nation, as would not stoop to obedience, but Rebel against the known Laws of anie Land where they lived, especially, wilful Law-breakers, such as should first begin, and attempt depredations, and surprising of the goods and estates of the obedient parties; the like Laws beeing for such contemners and Rebels also, in such cases to lose their lives.

The

The seventh Quere.

WHether God at the last daie will not call men to an account, even for those things which they are unaccountable for here, as great Conquerors are?

The seventh Answer.

GOd at the last daie will justifie all men, that zealously execute the work of his own righteous justice, and that are instrumental in the propagation of his truth and glorie, as the *English* now are, and as (I am confident) they will persist in *Ireland* (their own Countrie) against, and upon the wicked Inhabitants thereof, the *Irish* Rebels, who for their abominations, as I may boldly saie, stink in the nostrils of the Lord, and of all his servants, and must at last (without doubt) bee brought to an account for all their ungratefnl, inhumane, bloodie and barbarous actions, wherein the hand of the Lord is most visible unto us, having alreadie brought manie to the sword, destroied som by famine, but far more by pestilence, and other waies of his Justice, and now those, whose persons as yet met not with those Judgments, and proudly triumphed over, and stood upon the necks of the deplorable, and infinitely distressed *English*, do like dust before the winde flie from the faces of our *English* Protestant souldiers, not daring to justifie the least of their acts or undertakings, but for refuge flie to Mountains, woods, bogs, and other obscure and unaccessible places, *cursing now the first plotters, contrivers, and beginners of their Rebellion, and hellish designs.* This at large appear's by the examinations taken at *Dublin*, upon oath.

And doth not the *Querist* think that manie of these bloud-suckers in this world, and the rest in the world to com shall meet with condign punishment suitable to their demerits?

The eighth Quere.

WHether the condition of the conquered bee not Ireland, *and the condition of the Conquerors bee not* England, *and* Ireland *unjustly tearmed Rebels, and their cause just, and* England *a thieving usurping Tyrannie, and their cause altogether unjust, beeing against God and Nature, and therein, such as no judicious conscientious man can assist, or bid God speed?*

The eighth Answer.

THe condition of the conquered is not *Ireland*, beeing (as aforesaid) not a distinct nation and people, but the greatest part of them consisting of *English*, or those from thence extracted: And the several Conquests of them, but reducements to legal and civil obedience, to the just and proper right and interest of *England*. Nor can the condition of the Conquerors of them bee, as over an absolute Nation: therefore the Inhabitants of *Ireland*, now in arms against the just rights and proprietie of *England*, are properly and palpably Rebels, and their cause unjust, and *England's* a legal power, right and Government, and their cause altogether just, beeing for God and Nature; For God, to punish the rebellious, wicked, and obstinate, to root out Idolatrie, to plant and dress the Lord's Vineyard,

Vineyard, by holding out the glorious light of the truth, and not suffer it to bee covered or trampled on: For *Nature*, such as all judicious, conscientious men will assist, and bid God speed unto, beeing to redeem their brethren, the dispoiled Protestants in *Ireland*, restore them to their just and lawful possessions, vindicate the robberies, murthers, tortures, rapes, and inhumane cruelties, barbarously executed on them, and reduce that Countrie to Peace and quietnes.

The ninth Quere.

WHether it bee not the dutie of everie honest man, by all fair and peaceable means, to endeavor the diverting of the States, from the prosecution of so unjust a caus, especially, decline all means where himself might promote the same: but to shew his utter dislike of it?

The ninth Answer.

IT is the dutie of everie honest man, by all earnest, zealous, and lawful means, to endeavor the encouragement and furtherance of the State of *England*, for their prosecution of their so just a caus, especially to undertake all means, and to run through all difficulties, whereby hee himself might promote the same, and shew his willingnes unto, and good liking of it, and hee neither is, nor can bee a good Christian, that will not contribute to the suppression of these Idolaters, murtherers, and apparent enemies of God.

The tenth Quere.

WHether those that contend for their freedom (as the English *now) shall not make themselvs altogether unexcusable, if they shall intrench upon other's freedoms: And whether it bee not an especial note, and characterizing badg of a true pattern of freedom, to indeavor the just freedom of all men, as well as his own?*

The tenth Answer.

THose that contend for their freedom (as the *English* now) who are backt and seconded by original just Principles, fundamental *Laws*, inherent Rights, legal and due grants, and acknowledgment of their rights from their former accepted Governors, make's the resolution flatly opposite unto, and inconsistent with the rebellious Inhabitants of *Ireland*; who have neither original Principles, fundamental Laws, inherent Rights, legal and due grants, and acknowledgments of their rights, from their former rightful Governors, in anie sort or manner, distinct and separate from the right, power, and Government of *England* over them; But as a member to the bodie, so is *Ireland* to *England*; And therefore *England* need's no excuse, but is everie waie justifiable to rectifie, or cut off a corrupt, rebellious and gangren'd member, who never had imposed on it, or reteined anie other defect, restriction, or freedom then the whole bodie suffered. And if the indeavors of *England*

land have been so candid, as to make *Ireland* a fellow-member of its own freedom, and enjoyment of Laws and Libertie, equal with it self, in such of the Inhabitants as are capable and deserving the same, it is a special note and characterizing badg of a true Pattern of freedom, to bring such as belong to them into the like condition of themselvs, and to suppress those in *Ireland*, aswel as those in *England* that oppose the same.

The Eleventh Quere.

WHether *in Judgment and Conscience the* Irish *are not to bee justified, in all that they have don against the* English *in* Ireland, *and in complying with, assisting, and seeking assistance from anie that would, or will bee* England's *enemies, to preserv, and deliver them from the crueltie and usurpation of the* English; *rather then to becom slaves to their wills; And whether the* English *would not do as the* Irish *do, were they in like condition?*

The eleventh Answer.

IF Traitors, murtherers, ravishers, robbers, cruel inhumane persecutors of true Christians, sacrilegious, abominable Idolaters are justifiable, then are the Inhabitants of *Ireland*, now in arms against the *English*, to bee justified; But if by the

Law of God and man, such of their partakers, Abettors, and countenancers are to bee prosecuted and punished by those, into whose hands God hath put the sword of legal power, and just Government, as now in the *English*; Then in Judgment and conscience, the said Inhabitants of *Ireland* deserv sharp prosecution and just condemnation, and the rather, for that they (to uphold themselvs in their mischief) have against their dutie and loialtie to the lawful Government and right of *England* assisted, and sought assistance from such as are, and alwaies have been *England's* professed enemies, and therefore, for the *English* to endeavor the acquisition of their own just rights, and to punish those rebellious, obstinate, and inhumane inhabitants of *Ireland*, is but their dutie, and so, conscience, not crueltie, equitie and just right; not usurpation. They deserving the greatest severitie for their falshood and treacherie, who so exorbitantly abused the greatest freedom that ever anie Nation enjoied, and were not made slaves to the will of the *English* Protestants, but for manie years past, had as much freedom (and far more) then their evil manners rendered them capable of.

The twelfth Quere.

WHether the English *would account anie thing crueltie enough for them, to exercise upon the* Irish, *if the* Irish *should dispossess them in* England, *and tyrannize over them here, as the* English *have don over them there, if afterwards the* English *should get the upper hand?*

The

The twelfth Answer.

THe *English* never dispossed nor tyrannized over the *Irish*, either in *Ireland*, or *England*, but contrariwise were ever indulgent and loving to them; and now as the *English* will account nothing severe enough (if warrantable by God's Law) for them to execute upon the rebellious *Irish*, if they should dispossess the *English* in *England*, and tyrannize over them here, as they, the *Irish*, have most unlawfully don over *English* Protestants in *Ireland*: So it is warrantable by God's Law to recover their right in *Ireland*, and by the same Law (if they get the upper hand) severely to prosecute and punish the blood-guiltie Inhabitants of *Ireland*, it beeing a dutie and trust imposed on them by God, against such Idolaters and murtherers, and none ought, (without great offence) but prosecute such a cause with effect.

The thirteenth Quere.

WHether it bee not the dutie of the English *Nation, rather to repent of the oppression, usurpation and intrusion of themselvs, their Kings and forefathers, then with a high hand to pursue those designs of violence?*

The thirteenth Answer.

IT is the part and dutie of the *English* Nation rather to prosecute, and force the rebellious member *Ireland* to repent their oppression,

oppreſſion, uſurpation and intruſion into the right and Government of the *Engliſh*, and for their violent depriving them and their harmleſs neighbors of their Liberties, lives, goods, Lands, and other Eſtates, and for the *Engliſh* to recover their own rights, (in all ages made good by the expence of their fore-father's blood and treaſure) and with a high hand to purſue the deſigns of the oppoſers; and where the *Engliſh* never oppreſſed, uſurped, or intruded upon the *Iriſh*, there they need no repentance.

The fourteenth Quere.

WHether (if they ſhall ſtill purſue the ſame) it will not maintain a laſting chargeable War, to bee a large and ſtrange footing for the enemies to England's *peace to ſtand upon, to render the Nation to bee no true lovers of freedom, but of domination, give occaſion to the enemies to blaſpheme, make our Religion odious, and by perpetual piracie even utterly ſpoil all our trade by Sea, and ſo bee at the laſt our own ruine, and Whether the gain at the laſt by a perfect conqueſt over them (which is uncertain) will equipoiz all that charge and blood, that muſt bee ſpilt for the obteining of the ſame, eſpecially conſidering their eternal loſs, dying in the proſecution of ſo unjuſt a cauſ?*

The

The fourteenth Answer.

IF they, the *English*, now in the nick of time pursue the *Irish* Rebels, considering the present power and posture that *England* is in, and the great number of its able bodies fit for employment, which on a setled peace at home cannot bee better imployed or bestowed, then in so conscionable a service, conducing to the honor and glorie of God, the peace and quiet of all the Dominions of *England*, the advance of Trade, the terror of *England's* enemies, the gaining of a most fruitful and plentiful receptacle for a flowing off-spring, (if now so enabled) they shall effectually pursue the service against the Rebels in *Ireland*, (beeing so disseminated and scattered as they now are) it will not maintein a lasting chargeable war. For now but a competent number to bee sent out of *England*, with those faithful and noble ones, their Commilitants now there will (doubtless) by God's gracious assistance, do the blessed work of reducing them, and remove the largest and strongest footings the enemies of *England* have gotten, render the Nation of *England* to bee true Lovers of Freedom, and the noble preservers of that part of their bodie and dominion; This also will take away all occasion from the enemie to blaspheme, since the true worship and service of God will bee advanced in place of idolatrous Poperie, (so much of late years hazarding the peace of *England*) make our Religion (that true one indeed) beautiful, lovely, and delightful; free our Seas from the brood of *Dunkirkers*, *Pickaro's*, and others of the like stamp (*Irish* Pirats) when they shall have no place of harbor, or retirement amongst us, whereby trade will bee advanced; And so in a short time, may a firm and lasting peace and safetie bee acquired, the gain whereof will not onely equipoiz, but outballance all the charge that can bee spent, for obteining of the same. The blood that may bee spilt therein is in the disposing of the Lord Armipotent, the God of Battel, from whom our small handfuls of men have not onely met with glorious, and most strange, and often deliverances, far transcending the

thoughts of natural man, in all their former ingagements, but male (doubtlesse) expect it still; and for those that fall in the Lord's battel, they die not, but to live eternally in and with him, the true knowledg of whom teacheth us, that all our daies are numbred, and that not one life shall bee lost, but by his fore-purpose and divine appointment, who will still, especially in our greatest weaknes, cover us with his shield in the daie of battel, and enable us to trample on the necks of his, and our enemies, and which is far more excellent, they shall surely bee members of the Church, and live amongst the Saints triumphant, whose death shall happen in a cause so just (God's cause.) And here it may bee noted that the *Irish* Rebels by their last immane cruelties, filling up the measure of their Iniquitie seem to bee a people adopted by providence, to an utter exstirpation. Whereunto all faithful English-men have a call from Heaven, in vindication of that innocent bloud, there most profusely spilt, without leaving that detestable brand of Assorgism upon the *English* Nation to perpetuitie.

The fifteenth Quere.

WHether it bee not the dutie of the State, and Trustees of the Nation, rather to minde, seek and preserv the general peace, safetie, and welfare of the whole Nation, then the honors and profits of particular men; And whether particular men may not in an humble and peaceable manner present their thoughts to the State for a general good?

The fifteenth Answer.

THe whole *Quere* is affirmatively confessed, and therefore is it is hoped, that *Ireland* (a Countrie appropriate to this Nation,

Nation, and the major part of Inhabitants there of *English* descent will bee looked on, not as the honors and profits of particular men, but as a general concernment; the desertion whereof will redound to the honors and profits of particular men, enemies to the peace and welfare of *England*, the most malignant of its enemies, the Papists; and therefore particular, peaceable, wel-affected men ought in an humble and peaceable manner, to present their thoughts thereof to the State for a general good.

The sixteenth Quere.

WHether *if the State of* England *should now in their full strength proclaim* Ireland *a free State, repenting of all the evils that themselvs have acted and intended, and that our King hath formerly acted against that Nation; and that they will not further act to their prejudice, but onely sit down by them as a neighbor-State, as* Holland *doth, and that they onely desire that they may bee in mutual league, and as friends to seek the peace and welfare of each other, that they will not countenance, assist, or protect each other's enemies, nor anie that shall disturb the peace, or safetie of anie of the Nation, and onely require som considerable Sea-Port-Towns as securitie, and bond to tie the* Irish *to the performance of the Covenants; I saie, whether this may not bee everie waie as advantagious to the State, and people of* England, *as a conquest over them, the charge considered?*

The sixteenth Answer.

IF the State of *England* should now in their full strength proclaim *Ireland* a free State, and do further, as in the *Quere* is propounded: yet our true knowledg and experience of the Rebel's disposition promonisheth that they will bee still (especially upon anie occasion of advantage) forward and readie to the uttermost of their powers, and malice, to cut their benefactor's throats, besides it would bee the most prejudicial act that could bee imagined against the State, and people of *England*; For *set aside* the honor due to almightie God, in giving up that Countrie from his true worship and service, to Idolatrie and prophanenes; *set aside* their guilt of the innocent blood of our brethren, kindred, and Nation there, barbarously poured out, which will doubtles hang over the heads of the Pardoners; *set aside* the utter overthrow, and los of manie thousands of Families, their goods, and Estates, and the giving up the poor (yet considerable) remain of the *English* Protestant partie there, to the disposition of their most cruel enemies; *Set aside* the bloud and treasure there spent out of *England*, since the rebellion, wherein not a Family in *England* but is interessed, and which they exspect not to bee rendered fruitles, to the dishonor of the whole Nation; *Set* all these *aside*: yet humane reason and policie dictate's, that the Hous cannot bee safe so long as the back door is open. The father wrong's his posteritie, if hee lavishly give away halfe his inheritance, the regaining whereof, hereafter may bee a caus of ten fold los of blood and treasure, to what it may cost in preservation; that it is neither safe or just in the Law of Nature, to fling away anie part of our Arms, or defence, though at present cumbersom, which may advantage the enemie by taking possession of, and using (as the popish partie will) against us: And tho the right and interest of *England* to *Ireland*, were not so great, cleer, and undeniable as it is: yet the late revolutions considered, *England* must never exspect to bee advantaged, or anie wale bettered by deserting *Ireland*, and

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giving it up to the Irishmen Inhabitants; A people (for the most ly and lately treacherous to the Protestants and later *English*. Which people are neither so formidable in their best arms, defences, and power to keep themselves in such a proclaimed condition or freedom; Nor is it the aim, or mark of their new Grandees to effect and maintein it, whose divisions and contrarie inclinations amongst themselvs, are, and will ever bee a readie and open gap for anie *England's* enemies to enter in at: And saie they have no realitie in them to a kingly claim, (as without doubt they have not, they having now of late made amongst them so manie new Kings) yet it were an Act of destructive and dangerous consequence, to give *Ireland* to the disposal of the Pope, and hee to the Spaniard (his dear childe) which the Inhabitants of *Ireland* are not much against, but contrariwise, manie of them desire it, and which undoubtedly (if not prevented) would happen: And so that bit bee brought into the mouth of the Spaniard, which hee hath so long gaped after to swallow and devour.

And admit that *Ireland* were of the Protestant Religion, as well as *England*, and thereby the above inconveniencies avoided: yet were it neither safe nor commendable, to quit the dependance of that Iland on *England*, by proclaiming the Inhabitants thereof a free State; since what such a State might do upon verie slender grounds and mistakes, let *Holland* witness.

The resolution therefore is; that to do as this *Querie* propounds, is extreme loss, hazard, and disadvantage to the people of *England*, and the reducement of that Countrie to its lawful dependance and Government of *England*, by a full conquest of the present Rebels (let the charge bee what it will) is more honorable, safe, profitable and advantagious to *England*, then to proclaim them a free State; who are not in a capacitie to make and keep themselvs so, nor are or ever were a distinct Nation, as is before said, and here take notice, how the *Querist* propounds a suitable reward indeed for the State of *England*, to bestow upon the Rebels of *Ireland*, for murthering their kindred and allies, acknowledging the Iland to be a free State, and in amitie with them, and thereby for ever

quit their own undoubted interest, establish the worst of their enemies, becom guiltie of the unparalel'd murthers of those, that were flesh of their flesh, and bone of their bone, and leav the remnant of the poor *English* there, continually open to the rapine of those whose mercies are cruelties. So as the *Querist* would work the State of *England* into an impious unprovident, and unnatural desertion of the caus of God, their own interest and National quarrel.

The seventeenth Quere.

WVhether Ireland *were not altogether as like to accept of protection, safetie, and defence from the State and people of* England, *as from* Spain *or any other Nation, especially would they not rather then from Prince* Charles, Rupert *or from such like forlorn Soldiers, how would they then style the malignant Partie inconsiderable, And whether they were not then likelie suddenly to recall their Sea-Pirats, and so suddenly set open all Trade by Sea?*

The seventeenth Answer.

BEcaus the Rebellious Inhabitants of *Ireland* have cast off their obedience to the government of *England*, and (as is too well known) have plotted, and, as farr as they could, indevoured the utter extirpation of the English Protestants, and in coolness of blood (and without any provocation gi-

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ven them) maliciously and most barbarously murthered, som hundreds of thousands of them, driven the rest from their habitations, robbed them of their Estates, wounded, maimed, and most miserably intreated great numbers of others, have burned their houses, Castles and Churches, and have elected and made to and amongst themselvs several new Kings, *viz.* the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, *Owen Mc Art O Neil*, *Sr Phelim O Neil*, The Lord *Maguire* (since deceased) *O Connor Dun* of *Sligob*, *Philip Mc Hugh Mc Sane O Rely*, *Dermot Mc Doolin Cavenagh*, and one *O Shergil*; as doth and will fully appear in the examinations taken in that behalf, and becaus also those rebellious Irish have declined all English government, returned to their barbarous manners and customs, have set up a new government, have vowed (and many of them taken the Sacrament) to destroy not only all the men, women and children of the English Protestants, but also all irrational Creatures of the English breed, and becaus also they have in a most high manner, & as farr as they could, prophaned the Churches, books and daies of God's true worship, have brought to death as many Professors of his truth, as they could possiblie surprise, and have dilated their power and strength, in the acting and perpetrating of any crime destructive to the English Protestants; and which might render themselvs uncapable of mercie, protection or safetie from the people of *England*, therefore none ought to be given them; nor ought the sword (now justly and upon necessitie drawn out against them) be returned to the Scabbard, before that destruction they denounced, and resolved to execute upon the English, be retaliated upon themselvs, & least such mercie be recompenced with a curs as the holie Ghost by the Prophet, in a case such semblance, pronounced *Jer.* 48. 10. *Cursed bee bee that doth the work of the Lord negligently, and cursed bee bee that keepeth back his Sword from bloud.*

But I wonder from what the Queriſt mean's they should be protected, saved or defended; if hee intend it to bee from that punishment, they have so justly merited, by their Rebellion and wickednes past, according to that protection, and those Concessions they lately had by Compact with *Ormond*, grounded upon a Commission from the late King *Charles*. To that I an-

swer, That if our indulgent English should grant it to them, no doubt they would accept, and make use of it, so long as they should finde it to promote and be consistent with their own ends; and surely they would to themselvs take up no little glorie to meet with such a color of justification, as they might thereby transferr their odious guilt upon the Protectors, so much elevate the policie and wit of the old Serpent (their dread Lord and Master) above the English Protestant *genius*; and bee thereby also the further enabled to destroy the remaining Partie of the Protestants in *Ireland* (too precious wee hope) to bee the price of their securitie. But for further resolution,

These rebellious Inhabitants of *Ireland*, are so contemptuous to the English laws, so opposite in profession to the *English* Protestant, so hardned in their wickednes, envie and hatred against Gou's truth, and theirs for the truth's sake, and so wilfully bent to perfist, as, till suppressed, they will not omit, but contrariwise with greedines, draw into their confederacie, countenance and assistance any, whether forreign Prince or other person, and never think themselves in good condition or safetie, until (if possible) they have sounded the dreinings of the English veins, to their abyss, through their deepest lakes of blood, and have brought the undestroied part of the English to the lowest ebb of tranquillitie, which they will endeavour to effect and hasten on, as well by Sea as Land, and have in most esteem all maligtant Parties, lending a hand, and enabling them to effect it. But the Lord prevent them.

Something may be said concerning *Edmond Gawre*, who delivered the formerly recited and answered cavilling Queres to Mr *Theodore Jenning*, who delivered them over to the Lord President of the Council of State, as that it is verie likelie he is an Irishman, and one whom (by credible information) doth or lately did covertly & cunningly shelter among the soldierie, in or about London, and is a Jesuitical Papist, for the verie Queres themselvs smell of the breath of a Jesuite, the truth whereof may do well, if found out, [illegible] after his present being, parentage and education, [illegible] left to the discretion of those eminent persons in authoritie, [illegible] benefit to the present publick affaire being to retard any [illegible] from our Parlie in [illegible] that time, when the Land was in greatest danger to bee [illegible] taken from us.

FINIS.